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East Europe

FBIS-EEU-90-108
Tuesday
5 June 1990

Daily Report
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NOTICE TO READERS: * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

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Washington Summit Agreements 'Welcome Step'

AU0506115690 Tirana ATA in English 0904 GMT 5 Jun 90

["Bush-Gorbachev Meeting in Search of New Equilibriums—The Newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT Stresses"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, June 5 (ATA)—Compared with the previous Soviet-American summit meetings, the meeting between the U.S. President Bush and the Soviet counterpart Gorbachev which ended in Washington on Sunday, was held in a special situation. This has to do first of all with the great changes that have occurred in Eastern Europe and consequently for all Europe, the commentator Shaban Murati writes in the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT.

The Malta meeting in December last year between the two presidents was the first effort in search of new equilibriums in the continent and their ratios with the European questions. Europe dominated also in the present Soviet-American summit, at a time when after Malta meeting other events and developments have taken place. Both sides attached importance to the search of new equilibriums of Europe.

Naturally, the search of new equilibriums should repair the old lacks and defects, the article stresses, writing that in the present talks the efforts of the two parties to adjust the ratios of power which have to do with a central traditional problem of the Soviet- American efforts, that of arms control, was noticed. In this regard, the Washington meeting was materialised in the completion of a series of agreements, like that for the reduction of long-range nuclear arsenals up to 30 percent, or the agreement on the reduction of chemical weapons to 80 per cent. The signing and especially the execution of these agreements is a welcome step, which needs to be followed by others, so that the process of atomic and conventional disarmament assume greater and faster rates.

In the talks conducted by both parties, the stress was laid on the equilibrium of the interests between them, the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT stresses, but this equilibrium of interests in the present conditions is not and cannot be exclusively bilateral. The fact that with regard to many questions and regions the two leaders referred to broader forums, such as the Conference of the European Security and Cooperation in regard to the European questions, or as Gorbachev referred to the interests of other European countries when they talked on the united Germany shows that the voice and opinion of the international community are more and more being heard in the world policy.

In his meeting with the secretary general of UNO, Perez de Cuellar, Comrade Ramiz Alia said: "We uphold that the responsibility of the big powers in preserving general peace and security, which is acknowledged also by the United Nations Charter, is also a great obligation for them, which should be associated with a democratization of the international relations, with the establishment of a full equality among different countries." This kind of responsibility is demanded in finding the new just and peaceful equilibriums, which should take into consideration the interests of all countries, and not act as before, without the presence of the interested party, the article of the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT concludes.

W. European Albanians Demonstrate Over Kosovo

LD0206172790 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1605 GMT 2 Jun 90

[Text] Geneva, June 2 (TANJUG)—Around 15,000 Albanians from throughout Western Europe demonstrated in the streets of Geneva on Saturday [2 June] demanding the status of republic for the Yugoslav Province of Kosovo.

The demonstrations ended in a rally outside the United Nations buildings. The protestors also demanded "an end to the state terror in Kosovo," "the release of all political prisoners" and "free democratic elections."

Their demands were forwarded to the U.N. Center for Human Rights.

The rally marked the end of 15-day Albanian demonstrations outside the U.N. building in Geneva which began on May 19.

Groups of women and children rallied outside the building weekdays while on Saturdays, Geneva became a center for Albanian emigres from all over Western Europe—both from Kosovo and from Albania.

All pro-Albanian demonstrations in Switzerland are organized by the emigrant organization, the Popular Movement for the Republic of Kosovo.

At the latest anti-Yugoslav rally, the organization reduced the number of extremist attacks on the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia, of which Kosovo is a part, and on its present leadership and started proposing a referendum and democratic dialogue for the "settlement of the Kosovo problem."

This is being linked with fears of the new Serbian Constitution, which Albanian separatists at today's rally said they would not recognize.

Alia Congratulates SFRY's Jovic on Election

AU1805140990 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 17 May 90

[Text] Comrade Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, has sent the following telegram to Borisav Jovic, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia:

I convey to you my congratulations on the occasion of your election to the high post of president of the Presidency of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia.

I would like to avail myself of this opportunity to reaffirm our belief that the development of good-neighborly Albanian-Yugoslav relations is in the interest of our two countries and of fruitful cooperation and security in the region.

Alia Greets DPRK's Kim Il-song on Reelection

AU3005112790 Tirana ATA in English 1023 GMT 30 May 90

[Text] Tirana, May 30 (ATA)—The president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Comrade Ramiz Alia, sent the following message to the president of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Kim Il-song:

"On occasion of your reelection as president of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, I send you my greetings and wishes for successes in your high duty.

"I avail myself of the opportunity to wish the Korean people fresh achievements in their efforts for the development and prosperity of the homeland and express my belief that the relations of friendship and cooperation between our two peoples and countries will develop non-stop."

Kondi on Changes Following 10th Plenum

AU2905211990 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 22 May 90 p 2

[Interview with Pirro Kondi, Albanian Workers Party Central Committee Politburo Candidate member and first secretary of Tirana District Party Committee, by Pavllo Gjidede, editor of ZERI I POPULLIT Party Affairs section; place and date not given: "New Tasks Call for New Thinking and Methods"]

[Excerpts] [Gjidede] Comrade Pirro, in order to respond to the tasks set by the 10th party Central Committee plenum, we need to change our thinking and our style and methods of work.

What tangible steps are apparent in the work of the Party Committee here? For instance, how visible a role do elected representatives play?

[Kondi] The decisions of the recent party Central Committee plenums, particularly the 10th, and the very important speeches made by Comrade Ramiz Alia at these meetings have been for the Tirana Party Committee, as for the whole of the country and party, a major jolt, making us think more and act better in carrying out the great tasks set before us in all fields. Even though it is difficult "to slough your skin," there have again been movements toward a better conception of our tasks, and in our styles and methods of work. [passage omitted]

[Gjidede] You have outlined the work you have done in this, and it seems that you are determined to increase the role of elected representatives. However, it is in practice evident that apparatuses of the party possess a great deal of power, because they in fact do work that parallels that of the state organs, and are even above them, assuming the competences of elected representatives in party and state bodies.

What specifically is being done to change this relationship?

[Kondi] I would not accept the expression "possess a great deal of power" applied to the work of party apparatuses. Distinct from the state apparatuses, which have their competences, the party apparatuses' sole duty is to help and control at the base. They decide nothing. Only in one aspect has their work been criticized; it has been said that, in comparison with elected representatives, they often make themselves out to be "experts" and put themselves above them, drawing conclusions and making connections according to their own opinions, not the views and comments of elected representatives or delegates in general. [passage omitted]

[Gjidede] Comrade Pirro, there is often speculation instead of realism in the reports and decisions made by basic organizations and forums. There is even—why should we not say it—exaggeration. The 10th party Central Committee plenum spoke frankly and critically about this phenomenon. It suffices to recall the emphasis Comrade Ramiz Alia placed on this matter during his recent visits to some southern districts.

The party's reports and decisions must involve and assemble the spirit and thinking of the masses, but this does not always happen.

[Kondi] Comrade Ramiz rightly stressed in Kolonje District that there is an evident tendency to paint achievements in rosy hues and problems and concerns in only a few words. This failure is also evident in many reports and analyses presented at our meetings and forums and in articles and speeches. It is true that we have tried, as colleagues, to criticize these reports and articles. However, a standardized style has been created, according to which it is impossible to deliver a report without listing, in the usual phrases, achievements in one field or another, then raising a few problems often involving obstacles raised by other people, and closing with noisy pledges and promises.

[Gjidede] Why does this happen?

[Kondi] I would say that it happens, first of all, because cadres want as far as possible to escape responsibility. The common expression, "How did you get through the meeting?" is not without meaning. [passage omitted]

Opposition Leader Zhelev 'Attacked' at Rally

AU0106185790 Sofia BTA in English 1830 GMT 1 Jun 90

["Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev Assaulted"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 1 Jun (BTA)—Last night [31 May] the leader of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) [UDF], Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, was attacked in the town of Razgrad (northern Bulgaria).

At the end of a rally organized by the Fatherland Party of Labour Dr. Zhelev, accompanied by SDS activists, got on the platform and greeted the people attending the rally with the sign of victory adopted by the SDS. The local paper writes that part of the six or seven thousand participants in the rally made for the platform with the obvious purpose to assault the opposition leader. When Dr. Zhelev was getting down from the platform he was pushed by them several times. Then he was covered by the "guards," it is said in the announcement released by the Ministry of the Interior.

Despite the "efficient safety measures" taken by the local department of the Ministry of the Interior to lead the assaulted away, the mob hit the car in which Dr. Zhelev had got. One of the window-panes of the car cracked, the rear left fender was bent, it is said in the announcement.

The assailants are wanted by the authorities.

The leadership of the Fatherland Party of Labour sent a note of protest to the president. The appearance of Zhelyu Zhelev at the rally is qualified as a provocation.

The above-mentioned party had got a permission for its rally which was to start at 18:00 hrs. A rally of the SDS was to be opened at 18:30 hrs. A permission was asked for, although the Fatherland Party of Labour had already got a permission. Dr. Zhelev tried to get on the platform at about 19:45 o'clock.

DEMOKRATSIYA, the paper of the SDS, has no information of its own. In addition to an announcement made of Dr. Zhelev's participation in the election campaign it is mentioned that "last night Zhelyu Zhelev took part in a rally in Razgrad".

Interior Minister on Election 'Incidents'

AU0106205590 Sofia BTA in English 2021 GMT 1 Jun 90

[Text] Sofia, 1 Jun (BTA)—In the last two days there have been several incidents in the country, Atanas Semerdzhiev, minister of the interior, said on television today [1 June]. He informed about the inquest which is being held in connection with the murder of a young man who was killed in Shumen after an officer fired a shot with his gun. It is not clear whether the officer shot at the killed man 26-year-old Julien Penkov. The incident occurred after the officer and some cadets from the military school there intervened in the quarrel of four citizens which resulted in a fight. The minister reported about other incidents and two accidents in which supporters of the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) [UDF] were killed. In tomorrow's Panorama television programme he will announce the results of the investigations.

In connection with the incidents this evening the SDS parties and associations made an extraordinary declaration in which it is said that "peaceful citizens have fallen victims to political violence." The responsibility for the killing of Julien Penkov, a sympathizer of the Green Party, is pinned on the minister of defence, because the man who fired the shot is an army officer. It is insisted that military men should be forbidden to carry weapons when they are not on duty and that the fire arms issued should be taken back.

The declaration expresses the conviction that the incidents are not accidental. According to the opposition activists they are the natural consequence of the fanned-up propaganda campaign that is keeping the population in fear of violence.

ASP Leader Interviewed on Party Platform

AU0306154690 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 30 May 90 p 3

[Interview with Professor Nikolay Vasilev, chairman of the Alternative Socialist Party, by Binka Peeva; place and date not given: "For a Decent Human Existence"]

[Excerpts] [Peeva] Professor Vasilev, the Alternative Socialist Party [ASP] defines itself as a "party which has no past," but what are its hopes for the future? Do they depend on the forthcoming election results?

[Vasilev] The future of the ASP does not specifically depend on the future elections. Our party members, in their overwhelming majority, are specialists, people with very profound knowledge and experience in science, technology, and economics, who are resolved to devote their further efforts to the implementation of their ideas, and also after the elections their ideas shall be devoted to Bulgaria's future development. They shall work, as in the past, without considering the elections as the focus and the essential meaning of their activities. [passage omitted]

[Peeva] The ASP, in its platform, declared some basic principles of its economic policy, such as: "Every citizen—a real owner," "Prosperous citizens make a prosperous state," "No money for unemployment, but money for future working places," "From budget money-lending to a modern taxation policy," and so forth. All these slogans sound attractive, but numerous voters might be afraid of the ASP's demand for "an immediate transition to market economy...."

[Vasilev] ....However, as our platform states, only such a transition is likely to rescue our country from the swamp of decline. Look here, our economists explain the requirement of an immediate transition very thoroughly.

The problem is that our country is not underdeveloped, it is incorrectly developed. In the exact sense of the word we are not living through a crisis, but are involved in a chaotic, preposterous situation. Our goal is to provide for Bulgaria's transition to a normal cycle of economic development with normal economic crises, and with visible inflation so that the well-known methods of overcoming these phenomena may be applied. Unlike the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] Government, we propose to start with a major de-nationalization of the most profitable economic branches, immediately following the elections, so that the reform may not be discredited. Unlike the current government, we advocate a resolute taxation and price reform; an agrarian reform that should be based on the principle of restoring the land to those who owned it prior to the compulsory collectivization—specific mechanisms having been developed in our program for this purpose. We also demand guarantees that the repayment of our foreign debts shall not proceed according to the "Ceausescu plan," and so forth. The ruling party is talking a great deal about the dangers of "shock therapy," but this is nothing but a simple propaganda trick. Our economists are actually pleading for a "shock," but for a "shock based on legislation," for a new economic legislation likely to settle economic relations and the functioning of economic activities according to a new method. Practical experience has so far confirmed that this is the only correct path toward market economy.

[Bineva] This path, however, suffers from certain shortcomings, which are well known—namely the social sacrifice. Will the price of the reform not be rather high? Can the ASP, in such case, promote one of its further principles, namely that of "guaranteeing an adequate social standard—a decent and secure way of life?"

[Vasilev] The social sacrifice will be short-lived under the immediate transition to market economy, instead of becoming an agony for an indefinite period. The transition to a market economy would under all circumstances affect the socially weak strata, namely nearly two thirds of our population. The question is what mechanisms will be selected for neutralizing the negative effect. [passage omitted]

[Bineva] Let us talk about the ASP's nationality program.

[Vasilev] It is not a program, but rather a platform. It is a program of action because the problem is not limited to a party. One of the chief principles in this respect is our initiative on adopting a charter on the nationality issue likely to confirm national consensus on the methods that we should apply in overcoming our contradictions. The nationality charter provides for obligatory moral and legal commitments that should be assumed by any government, regardless of the political forces of which it is composed, and by the opposition. The nationality charter should be a supra-party document, conceived on a supra-party basis. It is our conviction that some basic principles, such as the international standards of human rights, national consensus, the integrity of the country's national sovereignty, and other such postulates should be included in this document.

[Bineva] The ASP signed a political agreement with the Union of Democratic Forces [UDF], but participates in the elections with independent candidates on an independent ticket. Does this electoral "autonomy" indicate a trend for the post-election period?

[Vasilev] We signed the agreement because it reflects our real situation—we are an opposition party and we cooperate with the other opposition forces in Bulgaria. As far as our post-election positions are concerned, we think that regardless of which party, or coalition should win, the future government should be composed of experts and of representatives from all parties in Bulgaria, that it should be a government based on national accord. Naturally, the position from which we shall resolve these problems (whether we have won, or lost the elections) will play an important role. We shall take the specific circumstances into consideration. Nevertheless, the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party, the Radical Democratic Party, the New Social Democratic Party, and other parties with an orientation similar to ours would be our natural allies. [passage omitted]

Opposition Said To Receive Substantial U.S. Aid

*AU0306201790 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
31 May 90 p 5*

[Text] Washington, 30 May (DUMA correspondent Ioan Mateev)—The U.S. National Foundation for Democracy has provided U.S.$1.7 million for programs in Bulgaria, it was announced in the foundation's bulletin issued a few days ago. According to the report, the funds are earmarked for the following purposes:

—Assistance through the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) for setting up a supra-party organization to monitor the election campaign and the elections themselves and to train activists for this purpose. One of the stressed aims of the organization is to create confidence among the voters that the electoral law will be properly applied.

—NDI financing of three visits to Bulgaria by four-member delegations which will meet with the electoral commission and the leaderships of the political parties to assess the conduct of the election campaign;

—The National Republican Institute on International Affairs (NRI) is to conduct a series of joint seminars with the Union of Democratic Forces [UDF] and its local organizations on party structuring and democratic principles. The NRI is to assist in supplying the UDF with business and communications equipment.

—The NDI and NRI are to jointly establish a 40-member international commission to monitor all aspects of the elections.

—Through the Institute of Free Trade Unions (IFTU), aid is to be provided for the "Podkrepa" Independent Labor Federation to help it purchase communications equipment and other materials for organizational needs connected with the elections.

- The U.S. National Foundation for Democracy is also to provide aid to the editorial board of DEMOKRATSIYA to ensure newsprint supplies.

—The Institute for Democracy in East Europe is to provide aid to the Federation of Independent Student Unions in Bulgaria for the provision of communications equipment and for maintaining contacts with other student organizations in East Europe.

Each of the above-mentioned American institutions has received part of the total amount of U.S.$1.7 million to fulfill its commitments under the program for Bulgaria.

The National Foundation for Democracy is a private organization with intellectual aims. It was set up in 1983 at the suggestion of the Reagan administration "to strengthen democratic institutions abroad." Its budget is derived both from contributions by private individuals and sums allocated by the U.S. Congress.

The funds earmarked by the foundation for financing the programs for Bulgaria form part of a total of U.S.$8.2 million which the Agency for International Development of the U.S. State Department has allocated to it since the beginning of this year.

The agency's press office informed the DUMA correspondent that the National Foundation for Democracy has been granted the right to decide how the money is to be distributed and used. A representative of the foundation provided the further clarification that U.S.$3.4 million were to used in Poland and Hungary, while the remainder of the money is for implementing programs in Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Romania, and Yugoslavia.

The foundation's representative also stated that at the moment, they have no precise report on the progress in implementing the program for Bulgaria, but that they were sure that intense work is underway and that the complete concept will be realized.

'Corrections' to Voting Registers Reported

AU0306193690 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 31 May 90 p 2

[Report by Katya Karagyaurova: "70 Percent of the Errors in Voters' Registers are Purely Technical"]

[Text] Citizens continue to add corrections to the voters' registers in which they have found mistakes. For the last 10 days people have been lining up in front of the municipal commissions in charge of updating voters lists' in Sofia and their number is increasing from day to day. Despite the long working hours—from 0730 to 2130—the large number of applicants has forced the employees to voluntarily prolong their working hours beyond this schedule.

It has been established, however, that 70 percent of the errors are purely technical, such as erroneously spelled, or omitted letters of names, for example. Part of the citizens waiting in line are applying for certificates authorizing them to vote in places other than those of their residence.

Employees in the municipal offices are aware of the fact that the changes are permanent, and that even on election day some people may be forced to travel, other have died, or changed their places of residence, or their family status.

Aleksandur Ivanov, chief legal adviser of the Sredets Municipality, thinks that the shortcomings of the "Sofinformatika" Company may be misleading and become a reason of erroneous interpretations. He recently updated the register of a 760-person strong polling station—he made corrections and registered some new people. However, the company did not do its job properly—his corrections were not entered and the register was not updated.

Omitted apartment blocks, erroneously registered "dead souls," and other similar mistakes which some people consider as deliberate, have also occurred during elections in the past. Nevertheless, no one ever considered them as falsifications, manipulations, or as efforts to prevent a particular individual from voting. They have been and still are nothing but involuntary mistakes resulting from careless work, from poorly maintained lists of households, or from some citizens' failure regularly to report their change of address.

Complaints Made Against Electoral Commission

AU0106174390 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 31 May 90 p 4

[Boris Gergov report: "Complaints Filed Against the Central Electoral Commission Submitted to the Supreme Court"]

[Text] Three complaints against the Central Electoral Commission have been filed and submitted to the Supreme Court. The first was submitted by the committee of Bulgarian citizens living in Sweden and was set aside by the court yesterday. Commission spokesman Dimitur Popov briefed journalists on this fact yesterday.

At yesterday's session, the commission recommended to the Council of Ministers that they provide the parties, movements, and election coalitions with their respective ballot papers by 4 June at the latest so that they may distribute them.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs advised the commission that preparations abroad for the elections have been completed.

Dimitur Popov denied the rumor that the commanding staff of the Army should be entered in the register of voters by means of special cards. They are to be registered only on the basis of their military identity papers.

The commission has decided that the citizens' act of voting should be registered on page 19 of their personal passports, while in the case of soldiers the act will be registered on page 54 of their military identity documents. Evidence that petty officers and sergeants have voted will be noted in the section: "Other Remarks." In the case of officers and generals, the act of voting will be marked on the last free page of their identity cards.

Konstantinova Outlines RDP Reform Policies

AU0106171490

[Editorial Report] Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian on 31 May on pages 1 and 5 carries a 900-word article by Elka Konstantinova, chairman of the Radical Democratic Party in Bulgaria (RDP) chairman, entitled, "We Stand for a 'State of the Intellect.'"

Konstantinova first states that "the RDP stands for radical reforms in the economy and politics, with a qualitatively new organization of labor and a new system of moral values." Accordingly, she writes, "The RDP makes a cult of the human individual and declares the individual's rights and obligations sacred, and accordingly the structures of the party itself are constructed in a completely democratic fashion—entirely horizontally." She states that "at present about 100 Radical Democrat local organizations, clubs, leagues, and so on have been formed throughout the country," and that "each of these displays its own initiative in its political, propaganda, economic, and cultural activities, elects its own leadership, and decides itself its methods of working with the various municipalities, surrounding villages, and the smaller towns."

Konstantinova asserts that the RDP members "are among those most closely affiliated with the united platform of the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF), most devoted to the interests of the organized democratic opposition, and most active in supporting moral unification of our democratic coalition, because one of the chief tasks of radical democratism...is the campaign against partisanship and the totalitarian ambitions of any public force."

She explains that "because our political structures contain no intermediate links, coordinators carry out liaison between the executive committee in Sofia and the local election offices in the districts and municipalities." She stresses that "no problem of a particular local organization is decided from above, and no candidate for a parliamentary seat is imposed by our central Sofia leadership on our local party organization." Konstantinova states that 40 candidates have been nominated from the party's 20,000-strong membership, of which 24 are included in the common election list of the UDF. These candidates, she writes, are between 35 and 60 years old, "and younger specialists predominate among them," including such people as satirist Vasil Stanilov, historian Dimitur Ludzhev, and actor Konstantin Kotsev. These candidates, she asserts, are firmly convinced that "it is necessary to serve Bulgaria by honest and dedicated labor, in order to turn the country in a few years into a highly civilized 'state of the intellect.'"

Poll Finds Election Blocs 'Consolidating'

AU0106160690 Sofia BTA in English
1448 GMT 1 Jun 90

[Text] Sofia, 1 Jun (BTA)—The polarization of political leanings is growing, the number of those who are still undecided is on the decrease and the blocs are "consolidating": This is the conclusion a team of the Centre for Democracy Researches (CDR) has made summarizing the results of their own survey and of other sociological enquiries held in the last three months.

The results of the representative survey published by the KULTURA weekly today present the opinions of 2,567 people interviewed in the period from May 17 through May 20, 1990.

The survey shows that 40 per cent of the respondents will vote for the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP); 30 per cent for the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) [UDF]; 12.6 per cent for the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS). Twenty days before the elections 49 per cent of the electorate in Sofia are orientated to the SDS, 28 per cent to the BSP and 6 per cent to the BZNS.

A victory of the BSP in the elections would scare 43 per cent of the respondents who will cast their votes for the SDS; 49 per cent of the potential voters for the BSP fear the victory of the SDS. Only 28 per cent of the BZNS supporters expect that there would be paying off old scores, no matter which party may win.

73 per cent of the respondents are against a one-party government and only 6 per cent favour the formation of such a government.

70 per cent of the BSP members polled, 75 per cent of the SDS members and 52 per cent of the members of the BZNS will succumb [as received] if their opponents come to power, but will fight against anything in their policy they do not agree with.

96 per cent of the BSP sympathizers are sure in the victory of their party; 82 percent of the supporters of the SDS believe that the latter will win the elections.

The share of workers engaged in the material production among the supporters of all three political forces is almost the same: the BSP 42 per cent; the SDS 44 per cent; the BZNS 42 per cent. The ratio is similar in the group of state administration: the BSP 11 per cent; the SDS 11 per cent; the BZNS 10 per cent.

The distribution of the respondents made according to their education level shows that 50 per cent of the university graduates will vote for the SDS and 39 per cent for the BSP. The preferences of the people who have secondary, special technical education and college education is similar; 52 per cent of the respondents with elementary education declare their support for the BSP.

Of the SDS supporters 72 per cent are up to 45 years of age; the sympathizers of the BSP within the same age group are 48 per cent.

The surveyors forecast that in the multi-mandate constituencies the votes for the BSP will be 39-44 per cent; for the SDS 34-41 per cent, for the BZNS 14-18 per cent; for the Rights and Freedoms Movement 4-5 per cent; and for the other parties 5-6 per cent. The surveyors are do not take it upon themselves to make predictions about half of the seats in parliament which are to be taken through the majority system.

Recent Political Incidents Discussed on TV

AU0206205790 Sofia BTA in English 1935 GMT 2 Jun 90

["There Are No Data for Political Murder"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 2 Jun (BTA)—The information which appeared recently in the mass media for violence over representatives of the opposition were refuted tonight on national TV. In the weekly political emission PANORAMA two members of the Social Council for Nonviolence, one from the Ministry of Interior and the other from the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces, UDF], briefed the public on certain cases which made quite a stir over the last days, among which was the murder by an officer from the Bulgarian National Army of a young man in Shumen, a car accident with an SDS leader of Pazardzhik in which he died, and the death of an SDS leader in Rakitovo, who fell in a lift shaft after the use of alcohol.

It was stressed that there are no data for intentional action aiming at murder and that these cases cannot be considered political murders.

Investigations on these as well as on other cases are continuing.

Major Parties Leaders Issue Statements

AU0306185190 Sofia BTA in English 1757 GMT 3 Jun 90

["Pre-election Statements by Political Leaders"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 3 Jun (BTA)—The country's present leadership has shown its lack of competence in many respects, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev said and called "a propaganda trick" the Socialists allegation that the new leadership of their party (former Communist Party) can take Bulgaria out of the crisis. Zhelyu Zhelev accused the Socialist Government for the country's exacerbating economic state.

The BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] is afraid for its power and the Bulgarian opposition is not at all "feeble", the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces, UDF] leader Zhelyu Zhelev said in the most popular TV program "Every Sunday" today. He did not deny that some positive changes have taken place after November 10 last year when Zhivkov was ousted, but, according to him, they are mainly merit of the opposition and have taken place under its pressure.

Dr. Zhelev opposed the assertion spread by the ruling circles, that the merit for November 10 goes to the Communists themselves. He expressed the opinion that the resistance of the non-official associations and mainly of the intellectuals against the regime, brought to the "palace coup" against Todor Zhivkov. [sentence as received] He did not, at the same time deny the boldness which the reformers in the present Socialist Party showed at the time.

Bulgaria is now no longer a totalitarian state, but it is not yet a democratic one either, Zhelyu Zhelev said.

In the same broadcast Georgi Pirinski from the BSP leadership determined the event on November 10 as the first step his party made to differentiate itself from mistakes in the past. "The future will depend on how deep the renewal of the Socialist Party will go," he said.

Georgi Pirinski said statements of the sort that only the SDS can ensure a democratic society in Bulgaria disturb him. The SDS has the support of a certain part of society and is a participant in the political process which should be respected, he said in reply to the question whether the SDS was a worthy rival, but also showed that he did not regard alike the parties and movements, members of the oppositional coalition.

At a rally of the Socialist Party in the Danube city of Silistra, Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov stressed that the Socialists have started the pre-election campaign "as a party of changes". "The BSP is not fighting for power for the sake of power, but wants the confidence of the people, to be able to work for its prosperity," Andrey Lukanov said.

BZNS [Bulgarian Agrarian National Union] Leader Viktor Vulkov spoke of the Agrarian Party as of a force of the political center at a rally in the village of Slavovitsa (south Bulgaria). "The agrarians will never any more be in the shadow of another political force," Viktor Vulkov said. He is a leader of a political party which only a few months ago was obliged to accept the program of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party].

Conflicting Accounts of BZNS Leader's Accident

AU0306194990 Sofia BTA in English
1933 GMT 3 Jun 90

["Incident With Member of the Opposition"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 3 Jun (BTA)—Today a leader of the BZNS [Bulgarian Agrarian National Union] "Nikola Petkov" which is in the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces, UDF] coalition, has suffered a car accident along the highway Varna-Sofia on the way from Varna to Veliko Turnovo (northern Bulgaria). Krum Nevrokopski travelled by an official car Audi recently offered to the youth organization of his party. Two km away from the town of Turgovishte the driver of the red Lada which travelled behind the Audi began to overtake them and suddenly intersected them. To avoid a front collision the Audi's driver sharply turned the car at the road rail. Krum Nevrokopski got away with slight wounds while his fellow-travelers were unharmed. That is how he explained the incident to a BTA correspondent. The official also said that after the driver of the red Lada saw the accident he quickly drove away. The people who suffered the accident could not see the number plate of the Lada.

According to the Audi driver, however, the accident took place after he tried to overtake and in order to avoid a collision with a car which moved from the opposite direction hit the highway rail. The driver himself gave this information to the road police, as the BTA correspondent announced.

Recent Incidents of Campaign Violence Surveyed

AU0406141590 Sofia BTA in English
0713 GMT 4 Jun 90

["Propaganda Attacks Go On"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 4 Jun (BTA reviewer Ognyan Branichev)—The propaganda recriminations exchanged by the different political forces in the country in anticipation of the elections for a Grand National Assembly to be held on June 10 have gone beyond the framework of the mass media.

Broken windows of clubs, propaganda posters torn to pieces, fights these are obviously not considered enough to prove the mutual recriminations of non-democratic behavior, intolerance and attempts to manipulate the opinion of the public. Real political victims are sought for, incidents are also possible and nobody is protected against them.

There were incidents last week. A soldier travelling by train came across some people who, when they understood that he was going to cast his vote for the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], throw him out of the moving train. The boy, although his bones were all broken, survived. An opposition leader from a little village fell down a lift-shaft and died three hours later. An investigation is under way, the atmosphere is heated up by allegations that he had been killed. Representatives of the public council on non-violence one from the Ministry of the Interior and the other one from the opposition, refuted the allegations. A young man sympathizing with the opposition was shot dead by an army officer in a scrap. It was a murder, but was it really a political one? An investigation is in progress.

The minister of national defense responded to the demand made by the opposition by prohibiting army officers from carrying guns when they are not on duty. The prohibition is in force until June 17.

At the end of last week the public council on non-violence called upon the mass media to be very careful when informing about such cases and to avoid making rash conclusions.

Topic No. 1 of the week was non-violence. It was brought to the fore by President Petur Mladenov who proposed the signing of an agreement on non-violence. On Friday [1 June] the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) [UDF] finally refused to sign it. The main motif for their refusal is the mounting tension, the blame for which the SDS attaches to the BSP. The opposition quoted the incidents mentioned above as a proof of their allegations.

The President's Office announced that the agreement on non-violence is supported by more than 80 parties and organizations and that almost four million Bulgarians endorsed it. But this number is disputed by the "Four Million" Committee who are of the opinion that it is impossible to collect so many signatures only in a month.

Agrarian Party To 'Leave' UDF After Elections

AU0406102390 Paris AFP in English 1005 GMT
4 Jun 90

[Text] Sofia, 4 Jun (AFP)—One of the main components of Bulgaria's opposition Union of Democratic Forces [UDF], will leave the alliance after upcoming legislative elections, the leader of the 'Nikola Petkov' farmers party said Monday. Party chairman Milan Drenchev said his group felt under-represented in the 16-party organization and planned "to have its own lists" of candidates in municipal elections due next fall.

The country's first free poll in 45 years of communist rule is scheduled for June 10 and 17.

Mr. Drenchev, in an interview with AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE, complained the Union had not allowed his party enough candidates and alleged other members of the movement "know nothing about politics". However they would not quit the alliance before this month's elections because the overriding goal now was "to overthrow the communists", he said.

Election Press Center Opens; Lilov, Zhelev Speak

*AU0406141990 Sofia BTA in English
1251 GMT 4 Jun 90*

["Bulgaria Elections—BSP and SDS on Coalition Cabinet Chances"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 4 Jun (BTA)—Irrespective of the results of the forthcoming elections, the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] will urge for the formation of a coalition government of national concord on a broad social basis, said Mr. Aleksandur Lilov, chairman of the Bulgarian Socialist Party Supreme Council, speaking at a news conference at the elections press center which opened today. In his view, fair elections are in the interests of the BSP more than of any other party. He asserted that if the opposition wins the elections, the Socialists will hand over power peacefully.

At another news conference the leader of the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) [UDF] Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev said that tomorrow the SDS will issue an appeal for non-violence and a fair election race, for a struggle of ideas. Dr. Zhelev said that the SDS does not oppose coalitions in principle but does not want to form a coalition with the BSP. Will there be a post-election coalition and, if so, what, will depend on the results, on the domestic situation and on the international situation. He did not rule out the possibility of a coalition between the SDS and the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) but reiterated that it will depend on the specific conditions. The SDS is an anti-communist coalition in terms of ideology and politics, not at the level of emotions. The SDS wants to uproot the totalitarian system, Dr. Zhelev indicated.

Mr. Lilov said that immediately after the elections the Socialist Party would enter the second stage of its renewal and that it was possible that new parties might break away from it then. Mr. Lilov pointed out that the party's leadership does not dramatize this situation. On the contrary, it views this as a normal process as now there are as many as seven different tendencies and factions within the BSP.

Dr. Zhelev believes that the BSP has adopted the strategy to disunite the opposition. He quoted a statement of a high-ranking Socialist Party official who called on the Turkish population in a village to vote either for the BSP or for Mr. Ahmed Dogan's Movement for Rights and Freedoms. Objectively both the Bulgarian and the Turkish ethnic-based movements play in the hands of the ruling party, Dr Zhelyu Zhelev said.

The SDS leader said he was confident that the opposition has a strong power base but acknowledged that unlike other East European countries, the democratic process in Bulgaria did not have support from the provinces. Citing unrepresentative opinion polls conducted in the provinces, he said that in some places the SDS can count on approximately 60 per cent of the vote. The official sociological surveys (Dr. Zhelev said he had "serious doubts" about their objectivity) list the BSP as the front-runner. A poll taken by an independent team showed that one-third of the respondents refuse to answer because they are afraid to give their opinion. This is one reason why the reliability of the opinion polls results is called into question.

Nearly 100 foreign journalists have been accredited at the press center so far. The Central Electoral Commission expects that the number of foreign correspondents will reach 1,000 between June 7 and 11.

Election Board Calls for 'Sense of Civic Duty'

*AU0406181990 Sofia BTA in English
1659 GMT 4 Jun 90*

[Text] Sofia, 4 Jun (BTA)—The Central Electoral Commission appeals today to the Bulgarian people to show a sense of civic duty, common sense and tolerance at the forthcoming elections for a Grand National Assembly on June 10 and 17. In that way every elector will participate personally in the establishment of guarantees for peaceful and fair elections on the election day, reads the address circulated by the commission.

The Central Electoral Commission stands decisively against each attempt to exert pressure over the electors' will, against each attempt to violate social order and calm at the time of the elections.

The free and fair holding of elections will be an expression of the dignity of the Bulgarian people of its political culture and its strivings towards democracy, the address says.

All Bulgarian sailors which are on Bulgarian ships and travel under the Bulgarian flag will be able to participate in the elections for a Grand National Assembly, decided today the Central Electoral Commission. According to the previous decision only those sailors who were on Bulgarian ships and travelled under the Bulgarian flag and were on the election day in Bulgarian territorial waters or had left them on June 9, a day before the elections could vote.

BZNS Supports Formation of Coalition Government

*AU0406185390 Sofia BTA in English
1733 GMT 4 Jun 90*

["BZNS Stands for Broad Coalition Government"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 4 Jun (BTA)—One of the major task of the Bulgarian people and the democratic forces in the country is to do away with the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] monopoly on power at the forthcoming elections for a Grand National Assembly, said today at a press conference Ivan Glushkov, one of the members of the BZNS [Bulgarian Agrarian National Union] leadership.

He said that at this difficult moment Bulgaria needs a coalition government of national concord with the participation of the major political forces. We think that Bulgaria's interests should be placed above the party interests, Ivan Glushkov said. According to him, to make possible the founding of such type of government and for its efficiency there is yet another condition to be observed the BSP should not have a majority neither in Parliament nor in the Government. Saying that the issue about the coalitions would be discussed after the results of the elections are announced, Ivan Glushkov also said that the BZNS is even now, before the elections definite that it will in no case agree to participate in a two party cabinet with the BSP. BZNS participated in a two-party rule with the Bulgarian Communist Party (present BSP) for a period of 43 years. The Agrarian Party differentiated itself from the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] after November 10, 1989 and established itself as an independent political force.

The leader of the BZNS spoke optimistically about the possibility to unite with the BZNS "Nikola Petkov" after the elections and stressed that they have no ideological differences in principle.

His prognosis is that neither of the political forces in the country will win an absolute majority at the forthcoming elections. He forecasts about 35 for the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces, UDF] and the BSP each and about 15 for the BZNS.

Government To Indemnify Victims of Repression

AU0106190590 Sofia BTA in English
1713 GMT 1 Jun 90

[Text] Sofia, 1 Jun (BTA)—The people subjected to repressions for political reasons after January 1, 1946, will receive a lump-sum indemnification. The procedures for receiving the indemnification are contained in the decree of the Council of Ministers adopted at the end of April this year. The repressed, no matter whether sentenced or not, or their heirs are granted the right to indemnification. The term "repressed" includes people imprisoned for political reasons, those sentenced to death, people who died while they were under investigation or imprisoned, the inmates of camps and forced-labour establishments and the people killed during the mass unrests in the 1972-1989 period when the names of part of the Bulgarian citizens were forcibly changed, it is said in a declaration of the Ministry of the Interior released today. The ministry will issue documents certifying that the respective persons were repressed.

Today's state gazette has brought out a list of 517 people who were "ungroundedly imprisoned and detained in Belene" in connection with the forcible change of the names of part of the Bulgarian citizens. A political and civic rehabilitation is declared for them.

The State Gazette has published the decision of the Parliamentary Commission on the rehabilitation of sentenced and unfoundedly repressed activists and followers of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS), the Nikola Petkov BZNS, the Vrabcha-1 BZNS, of people sentenced and repressed in connection with the trial of the communist activist Traycho Kostov and the consequent trials, of people detained in camps or interned. The list contains about 400 names.

It is announced that the investigation of cases of people who have not been rehabilitated yet is going on.

President's Stand on Social Issues Explained

AU0406185190 Sofia BTA in English
1811 GMT 4 Jun 90

[Text] Sofia, 4 Jun (BTA)—The president's adviser on social policy and human rights briefed journalists today on the survey carried in order to form the Presidency's stand on social policy. He expressed the major viewpoints in this sphere: legislative guarantee of the social minimum, legislative guaranteed protection of the socially weak layers, possibility for the strong and able personalities to express themselves in their work and creative work. Adoption of the decisions in the social sphere on the basis of a broad social consensus, determination of the priorities in the social sphere.

Answering a question about the president's attitude towards the tragic incidents over the last days the spokesman Chavdar Minchev stressed that the president stands firmly against every kind of violence irrespective of where it comes from or why it was exerted. At the same time he stressed that events of accidental character should not be used in a political context.

Ecoglasnost Delegation Holds Talks in Giurgiu

AU0106190390 Sofia BTA in English
1642 GMT 1 Jun 90

[Text] Ruse, 1 Jun (BTA)—A delegation of Ecoglasnost (Ruse, Bulgaria) visited Giurgiu (Romania) where they had a meeting with the mayor of the town and with the leadership of the chemical works there. The reason for the visit was the gassing of Ruse with chlorine on May 31 and the threat the production of chlorine poses to the population in this area, especially after the latest earthquake.

At a meeting with representatives of the local Romanian ecological movements it was proposed to set up an international independent commission of experts who would analyse the production of the Giurgiu Chemical Works and come out with a statement. The delegation of the Ruse branch of Ecoglasnost received the support of their Romanian colleagues for initiating civic action if the two countries' governments do not establish contacts for the settlement of this problem by June 5.

The delegation handed over a declaration of the Ecoglasnost Independent Society forwarded to the presidents and the Governments of Bulgaria and Romania in connection with the pollution of Ruse.

Demonstration Reported

AU0306142490 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 3 Jun 90

[Text] In response to an appeal issued by Ecoglasnost on 3 June, several thousand Ruse citizens formed a human chain to protest against the continuing chlorine emission of the Giurgiu chemical plants.

With dozens of posters, banners, and exclamations which read "Stop poisoning the city!" "Life for Ruse!" "Dismantle the plant and the system!" "We want healthy children!" and "No to chlorine!", the citizens of Ruse again demonstrated their vitally important demands. Ecoglasnost's declaration again was read. It calls upon the president and the government to immediately adopt measures and meet with Romanian leaders, to quickly resolve the problems of Giurgiu and Ruse. Otherwise, on 8 June, Ecoglasnost will declare a state of civil disobedience and will undertake joint efforts with the citizens of Giurgiu.

Global Environment Protection Meeting Opens

AU0406185290 Sofia BTA in English 1736 GMT 4 Jun 90

[Text] Varna, 4 Jun (BTA)—The meeting Eco '90 of the International Club for Ecological Culture began on the eve of the International Day of Environment Protection. Subject of discussion is the ecological science, education and art for survival of life in the planet. The meeting is with the participation of guests from France and the FRG.

Eco Consortium will be founded which will promote the development of projects and prognoses. The International Club for Ecological Culture was founded in 1988 after Bulgaria's initiative and was registered in Vienna. Forty countries are participating in it. As a non-government association its objective is to be a permanent center for free contacts and exchange of information and experience and for ecological culture.

Economic Cooperation Protocol Signed in Madrid

AU0106190190 Sofia BTA in English 1640 GMT 1 Jun 90

[Text] Madrid, 1 Jun (BTA correspondent)—Commenting on the protocol signed today [1 June] in Madrid, the leaders of the Bulgarian and the Spanish delegations, Mr. Mikhail Dimitrov of the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations of Bulgaria and Mr. Jorge Alonso Luis of the Ministry of Economy and Finance of Spain, assessed the document as a serious step forward in the development of the two countries' business relations.

For the first time Spain offers the opportunity of state-guaranteed crediting the Spanish exports to Bulgaria: machines, equipment, consumer goods, raw materials, etc.

The protocol reflects the intention of the two sides to exchange letters confirming the granting of this credit which will amount to 100 million U.S. dollars.

According to the leader of the Bulgarian delegation in a few months the Bulgarians can purchase Spanish goods.

The Spanish and the Bulgarian specialists share the opinion that the protocol on financial cooperation provides a basis for a rapid extension of the business cooperation between Bulgaria and Spain.

Military Will Carry No Weapons Outside Camps

AU0306175190 Sofia BTA in English 1719 GMT 3 Jun 90

["Military Men are Obliged To Leave Their Personal Weapons After Ending Duties"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 6 Jun (BTA)—The minister of national defense issued a written order according to which the military who are empowered to carry personal weapons should from June 4 through 17 leave it in the units or headquarters where they serve, reads an announcement of the Ministry of National Defense.

This is done in order to avoid incidents in the days near the elections and after the insistence of the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces, UDF].

Late on May 30 there was a grave incident in the city of Shumen in which after a fight in the street Senior Lieutenant Lyulin Stefanov Lukanov fired two shots and wounded to death Zhulien Veselinov Penkov.

All data are indicative of the fact that this incident has no political character.

Lukanov at Antinuclear BSP Rally in Svishtov

AU0206201090 Sofia BTA in English 1730 GMT 2 Jun 90

[Text] Svishtov, 2 Jun (BTA)—At a pre-election rally of the ruling BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] with the participation of Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Council of Ministers and member of the Presidency of the BSP Supreme Council, thousands of socialists and supporters of the BSP candidates for M.P.'s backed the readiness to stand up for the final termination of the building of the Belene Nuclear Power Station (NPS).

In a firm stance that he cannot deprive the Parliamentary Commission on the Belene NPS of its rights, the chairman of the Council of Ministers expressed before the participants in the rally his opinion that the building of a nuclear station at a seismic site as Belene is an error.

"But I can only engage myself," Andrey Lukanov said "to back this position in the final discussions about the station's future."

He expressed conviction that the resolutions about the second nuclear power station in Bulgaria and the development of nuclear energy will be sought through broad democratic discussions.

Todorov Speaks Against Violence at Meeting

AU0306132190 Sofia BTA in English
1744 GMT 2 Jun 90

[Text] Sofia, 2 Jun (BTA)—At the celebration of the day of national hero Botev, annually held here in the region of Okolchitsa (north-western Bulgaria) and symbolizing the worship of the whole people of the heroes who died in the struggle for their fatherland liberation, National Assembly Chairman Stanko Todorov addressed again an appeal to all Bulgarian citizens for non-violence and peaceful transition towards democracy.

The parliament chairman condemned the attempts of some of the political forces to impose from self-interested motives the opinion that there has not been fascism and cruel exploitation in Bulgaria. He said that 20,000 people had been killed with and without trial in this country in the period 1940-1944, that only the partisans killed in that period were 9,100 people.

Stanko Todorov appealed to all citizens to stand above narrow party interests and think about the country's security.

The speaker greeted all political forces which have signed President Mladenov's proposal for non-violence, and stressed that the only aim of the latter is not to allow dissensions, threats and violence in the pre-election campaign and in the future political way.

New Instructions on Travel to Cyprus Released

AU0106161190 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
31 May 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Travel Restrictions"]

[Text] Passengers flying to Cyprus by Balkanair have to comply with new regulations regarding the issue of tickets as a result of a request by the Cypriot authorities.

Bulgarian citizens can only purchase two-way tickets to Larnaca, and the date of their return flight must be established in advance.

Every Bulgarian citizen who travels to Cyprus as a tourist is requested to submit a document confirming that he can spend $50 per day.

The Bulgarian airline informs passengers that Bulgarian citizens are not entitled to employment in Cyprus without an official work permit issued by the Cypriot authorities.

Warsaw Pact Chiefs Lushev, Lobov Pay Visit

AU0106181290 Sofia BTA in English
1803 GMT 1 Jun 90

["Business Visit"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, June 1 (BTA)—Army General Petr Lushev, commander-in-chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty, and Army General Vladimir Lobov, head of staff of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty, visited the Ministry of National Defence of Bulgaria today [1 June]. They had a meeting with the leadership of the ministry to discuss some current matters related to the development and the improvement of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty Organization.

Police Experts End Meeting on Drug Trafficking

AU0206154090 Sofia BTA in English
1345 GMT 2 Jun 90

[Text] Sofia, 2 Jun (BTA)—The two-day meeting of police experts and experts on drugs trafficking combat ended here. Representatives from Austria, Bulgaria, Greece, France, the FRG, Italy, Yugoslavia, Hungary and Turkey participated. Raymond Kendall, secretary general of Interpol, was invited to participate as an observer. The United Nations Fund for Drugs Abuse Control was presented by Deputy Executive Director William Beechner.

Only the Turkish representative did not sign the protocol on operative measures for cooperation in the drugs trafficking combat. He approved of the draft document in principle but abstained from signing it as he was not authorized by his government to do so. The opinion is that the Turkish side will approve the document.

The meeting was estimated highly at a press conference and it was said that the protocol specifies the ways and approaches of cooperation and solves a number of issues in the sphere of information which is a key issue.

The issues was raised for the establishment of a new type of information system and a data bank which will serve all countries, participants in the meeting.

Journalists were told that a large part of the hard narcotic substances for the Federal Republic, France, Holland and Italy passes along the so-called Balkan route.

U.S.-Soviet Summit Outcome Viewed

LD0406122890 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1000 GMT 4 Jun 90

[Text] The world has been following the Soviet-U.S. meeting in Washington with tension. The meeting was preceded by a great deal of speculation. Great hopes had been placed in it, although more pessimistic voices, too, had been heard.

In one aspect the meeting was new. It constituted a kind of test of the strength of Mikhail Gorbachev's position, not only on the international but also the domestic arena. There has been unambiguous talk lately about the instability of his presidential position. But as the Washington meeting has shown, in foreign political affairs, Gorbachev has lost nothing in his decisiveness and drive. This is not a negligible factor for his further activity, including at home.

The first reactions to the summit have come out rather unfavorably for Bush, who, in the view of some observers, acted too passively. Gorbachev, on the contrary, showed—including, among others, to the public at home—that he is not indecisive and hesitant, precisely the traits for which he has been criticized at home.

The meeting will surely write itself into history not only by the 17 agreements and declarations adopted, which mean a great deal for the world in the future, but also by the fact that the preceding days showed the beginning of a new era in Soviet-U.S. relations. After all, this was the first time that a genuinely informal meeting between both presidents took place. This on the part of Soviet diplomacy was an enormous step. It means the practical end of the cold war era, as well as the end of Soviet-U.S. confrontation—let us hope forever.

Cuban Economic Talks Fail To Reach Agreements

LD0306110790 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1000 GMT 3 Jun 90

[Text] The 14th session of the mixed intergovernmental Czechoslovak-Cuban Commission for Economic, Scientific, and Technological Cooperation has ended in Havana. The commission has failed to achieve agreements on a whole number of issues. This involves, above all, matters connected with the coordination of economic relations for the next five years, such as a switch to world prices, customary conditions prevailing in international trade, and clearing accounts in convertible currencies, as well as the method of paying back installments of loans granted by Czechoslovakia. In the period up to the end of April this year, the Czechoslovak side fulfilled agreed deliveries by 22 percent, while Cuba did so only by nine percent. The Czechoslovak Ministry of Foreign Trade has for this reason temporarily halted some Czechoslovak deliveries.

'Problems' in Economic Ties Cited

LD0306204390 Prague CTK in English 1916 GMT 3 Jun 90

[Text] Havana June 3 (CTK correspondent)—Problems in Czechoslovak-Cuban economic cooperation were reflected in a protocol signed here Saturday night [2 June], in conclusion of a meeting of the Czechoslovak-Cuban inter-governmental commission for economic, scientific and technological cooperation.

The protocol reflected the lack of agreement of the two sides on questions related to the coordination of economic relations for the 1991-95 period, e.g. the transition to world prices and usual conditions of international trade, payment in convertible currency as well as ways of paying back credits granted by Czechoslovakia. Forms of payment and prices for next year are soon to be agreed by the foreign trade ministries which are also to work out steps helping to normalize bilateral trade. Until April Czechoslovakia delivered only 22 per cent of the agreed supplies but Cuba only nine per cent and therefore the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry temporarily suspended some Czechoslovak deliveries.

Envoy to U.S. Denies Financial Misdealings

LD0506091990 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0800 GMT 5 Jun 90

[Text] The Association for the Republic-Czechoslovak Republican Party [Sdruzeni pro republiku-Republikanska strana Ceskoslovenska] yesterday claimed that Rita Klimova, Czechoslovak ambassador to the United States, has transferred to her personal account $25,000 from the expatriots' organization in the United States.

A Federal Foreign Ministry spokesman called this claim quote, gross misinformation, unquote. The ministry has checked the substance of the information and discovered that no such financial means have been accepted, either by Rita Klimova or by the embassy in Washington, nor have they been remitted to anyone.

The Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs demands a public apology from those who released this false information. Ambassador Kimova said she has taken steps toward opening criminal proceedings against these misinformers.

GDR Troops Said Involved in 1968 Invasion

LD0406153390 Prague CTK in English 1354 GMT 4 Jun 90

[Text] Prague June 4 (CTK)—Former commander of the western military zone, Major-General Stanislav Prochazka has told CTK that GDR soliders participated in the 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia.

He said that several tanks started to cross the Czechoslovak border at Vejprty on August 20 at about 19.00

GMT by mistake and then returned as the intervention started two hours later as secheduled.

Czechoslovak territory was entered by a GDR tank and a motorized infantry division involving up to 100 tanks and 15,000 men. They operated mainly at the training site at Doupov, also capturing the town of Nejdek and border villages on the border with the FRG. Several units continued further and were seen also in Prague. The staff of the Leipzig zone remained, however, on GDR territory.

Stanislav Prochazka told CTK that the GDR units were withdrawn on August 25. He said that they did not shoot at Czechoslovak citizens, contrary to Soviet troops. They were convinced they came to defend socialism against counter-revolution and were surprised that nothing similar happened in Czechoslovakia.

Asked what steps were taken by Czechoslovak soldiers, Stanislav Prochazka said that they stayed in the barracks on the order of the then Czechoslovak President Ludvik Svoboda.

Personally evaluating the intervention, the general said that it was a direct violation of the post-war Potsdam agreements. Marshal Grechko, the then Soviet defence minister, claimed at the August moscow talks that GDR soldiers were not in Czechoslovakia. Army General Ludvik Svoboda informed chief commanders of the Czechoslovak Army of this on August 28 when he returned from Moscow. He was surprised and disappointed when he learned that the information was not truthful.

Stanislav Prochazka added that the Sumava military exercise in August 1968 was in fact a preparation for the August intervention of which many "Allied": generals must have been informed.

Border Zone With FRG, Austria Abolished

LD0106155990 Prague CTK in English 1946 GMT 31 May 90

[Text] Prague May 31 (CTK)—The border zone between Czechoslovakia and the FRG and Czechoslovakia and Austria was abolished by today, the federal Interior Ministry told CTK today.

At the same time it reported that a new border crossing for pedestrians was opened with the aim to enable Austrian tourists to have access to the Plesne Lake close to the border and to the memorial of Adalbert Stifter (Austrian Novelist), and Czechoslovak tourists to visit the "Stifter Spring" on Austrian territory.

The state border can be crossed there by people having a valid passport and carrying only things for personal use.

Havel, Dubcek Attend Bratislava Rally

LD0406175190 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 4 Jun 90

[Text] The rally in the Slovak National Uprising Square in Bratislava began half an hour later, and the atmosphere was more than tumultuous there. Besides chanting "Long live Havel!" "Dubcek, Havel!" "In unity is strength!" there were also slogans such as "In Slovakia in Slovak," "Slovakia for Slovaks" coming from a group of supporters of the Slovak National Party [Slovenska Narodna Strana], who disrespectfully kept disrupting President Vaclav Havel's address. The majority of those present distanced themselves from this by their disagreement, but the shouting match of slogans and chanting continued, nevertheless. This certainly did not correspond to the understanding, tolerance, wisdom, and love, that is, to all that we promised each other on this square. We have forgotten somewhat quickly, is it not true? In this connection one must add something else: To spoil or destroy something that has been organized by others may be simple, easy, but it is certainly no credit to anyone, and it goes beyond the pale to disrupt disrespectfully the head of state when he is addressing people who have come to listen to him. I would like to remind you that you can listen to the address by Vaclav Havel, president of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, on Slovak National Uprising Square in Bratislava, this evening on Radio Czechoslovakia. So much about the one-day visit of President Vaclav Havel in the West Slovak Region and Bratislava.

We will however, return for a while to the Bratislava Slovak National Uprising Square, where the situation—according to my colleague—came to a head so much that Alexander Dubcek also took the floor.

[Begin Dubeck recording] I know some people do not like very much what we are saying today. I know it. Do you have a right to hold that view? Yes, you do. You also have the right to call out "Free Slovakia." But to coerce the others and to try to prevent the president from speaking—that is not civilized. You will not shout me down. I will remember these days. Today we are intoxicated with freedom. But, ladies and gentlemen, if this is a display of democracy, then we ought to stop it immediately. Let us think back and remember what democracy is. On 17 November, I sat there all evening, along with the others. [odsedel som si tam do noci] This is not the main thing I want to mention here, but a month passed. On 28 December, I became chairman of the Federal Assembly. On 29 December, we elected our president. In a month the government, the Slovak National Council, the Czech National Council were reconstructed and we entered a new path. The path to democracy opened to us. What way will we follow now? How? Is it a great achievement? Yes it is.

Have we joined all our forces then? Yes, we did! Now what? Are we going to divide it all now? How will we go to Europe? [applause] Slogans, words: Away from Prague, Away with Czechs! I tell you this reminds me of some sad things. I have lived through such things several times. I know what you want to say, but I ask you if you want to build Slovakia then build a strong Slovakia, build Slovakia on firm foundations and the Czech Republic, too, and under one roof! [chants; applause] If you envision that we will be damaging this Republic, this is no way! If we want to be building the European home, then please let us remember that we have to build our own home, too. This home can be built on firm foundations—both Slovak and Czech—but let it have a federative roof. [applause] [end recording]

Havel Addresses Bratislava Rally

LD0406214290 Prague CTK in English 2100 GMT 4 Jun 90

[Text] Bratislava June 4 (CTK)—"The world wonders how we shall be able to give a constitutional shape to our two nations' sovereignty...if we become a stabilizing point in stormy Central- Eastern Europe", Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel told a rally here this afternoon.

The structures of all three governments (Federal, Czech and Slovak) should be changed to strengthen the powers of the republics' governments and at the same time to preserve, alter or even strengthen those functions of the Federal Government which are in the interest of both national republics, the president said.

The federal law on a new position of the organs of local administration and the strengthening of the powers of villages and towns should leave the problem of the republics' territorial division entirely in their hands, Vaclav Havel pointed out.

Refering to the economic problems Vaclav Havel stressed that the whole economic legislation should respect subjectivity of all enteprises and their right to join freely the world economic system. The Czech and Slovak economies should be equal partners helping each other in the spirit of a common economic strategy.

Dealing with relations of the two nations living in Czechoslovakia he said that the delusion of Czechoslovakism must be rejected just as the memory of the sad pseudo-independence and at last the totalitarian concept of the federation as an administrative more complex form of Communist centralism.

The Czechoslovak president underlined that the Czechs and the Slovaks are two close nations living next to each other for ages, speaking similar languages and having many practical reasons to strive for common goals, Vaclav Havel said.

Havel, Dubcek Tour Komarno

LD0406200390 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 4 Jun 90

[Report by Alica Bielikova and Bohuslav Gecy]

[Excerpts] The Czechoslovak president and Federal Assembly Chairman Alexander Dubcek, after arrival in Bratislava, where Slovak Premier Milan Cic and others joined them, boarded a helicopter and went to see the Gabcikovo water project. Recently much has been said about putting it into operation; for example, an important group of West European industrialists, joined in the commercial and industrial chambers, called for it too. Perhaps this unexpected visit might be a sign of change regarding this problem.

President Vaclav Havel and the others were welcomed by the staff of our largest shipyard, the shipyard of Gabor Steiner in Komarno. This enterprise, like the majority of large Slovak enterprises, has problems with adaptation. Its market used to be almost exclusively the USSR, but with the change in the exchange rate between the ruble and the koruna, it lost in profit almost 50,000 Kcs. It has already signed an agreement with West German partners for the supply of six ships, and other similar contracts are being prepared.

While Vaclav Havel and his entourage were in the shipyards, the space in front of the department store Lodiar in Komarno was filling in, and, at 1100, the president of the Republic, the Federal Assembly chairman, and the other Komarno residents gathered there.

Among over 10,000 people there was also a very active group of supporters of independent Slovakia, whose banners made Alexander Dubcek emphasize in his speech that the issues of nationalities cannot be dealt with on the basis of emotions because this opens up the possibility of exploiting this problem for disrupting the joint efforts to achieve democracy. This was also emphasized in the speech by Vaclav Havel. [passage omitted]

The enthusiasm with which the Komarno citizens welcomed Vaclav Havel, Alexander Dubcek, and the others was demonstrated again at the end of the meeting.

The journey from Komarno to Nitra involved two stops: One was a lunch in a famous fish restaurant in Chotin near Komarno, and the second was in front of a brewery in Hurbanovo, where the president of the Republic and his entourage tasted the excellent Hurbanovo golden pheasant. They then passed through villages where people waited on the pavement to greet our prominent politicians. In Nitra they again met the inhabitants of this big district town and took a quick drive to Bratislava.

Havel Addresses Komarno Rally

LD0406162990 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1414 GMT 4 Jun 90

[Report on speech by President Vaclav Havel at a rally in Komarno on 4 June]

[Text] We have grown quite accustomed to the fact that every one of our President Vaclav Havel's days is filled by duties connected with this high office, while he does not forget about the constant contact with citizens of the Republic, whom he leads. Today, on his journey through the West Slovak region, he also attended a rally in Komarno. This district capital is inhabited above all by citizens of Hungarian nationality, and thus questions connected with nationality issues—precisely now before the elections—have moved to the foreground. As I have promised, you will now listen to a recording of what President Vaclav Havel said about this and also how he was welcomed by the town's citizens:

[Begin Havel recording] [crowd chants: "Long live Havel!"] Esteemed friends, I will admit without having to be tortured that I am in Komarno for the first time in my life and that I have looked forward to this visit very much. [applause] The more dramatic warnings I heard about the local, allegedly dramatic, situation, the more I looked forward to the visit. I have looked forward to it not only because I, as a playwright, am attracted by dramatic situations, but also because I feel as a president to be most drawn to where the situation is allegeldy most serious.

I would really not like to go only there where the police prepared a green-paint-sprayed lawn, and pretested bread with pretested salt. [chanting: "Long live Havel!"] As a playwright I am disappointed, and as president I am happy with the discovery that Slovaks and Hungarians live here more or less as they have been living here for some thousand years, that is: as normal neighbors who occasionally get on each others' nerves. [applause]

My discovery does not mean automatically that everything is in order here. There is no order anywhere in our state, and it would be odd if it should be otherwise here. Nevertheless, problems in this area can be solved calmly and gradually as it is possible to solve calmly and gradually all our country's problems. Only one thing is needed for this: goodwill. [applause]

The ideal of the Stalinist and post-Stalinist communism was to put everything in the same mold, from Vladivostok to Berlin. Everywhere apparatus of the same structure ruled, the same kind of phrases were used, and the same bad test was in evidence. It is clear that in this uniform environment all kinds of peculiarities and all kinds of individual character, including national character, had to be suppressed. Slovaks and Hungarians had to churn out the same phrases no matter whether in Slovak or Hungarian—no matter, because it was in both cases the same ideological Esperanto.

People's longing to identify with their nation or nationality has been systematically suppressed, and this has happened regardless of state borders or regardless of nation or nationality.

All of Europe knows how many problems in East Europe were not solved for a long time, how many problems were just bubbling under the enforced totalitarian Gleichschaltung [gleichshaltance] and how many problems suddenly, with the arrival of the freedom, have come to light. At the same time all of Europe is torturing itself with the carefully hidden fear that this part of it will soon become a powder keg, which will threaten its peaceful, fruitful life. I have a proposal. Let us try to dissappoint the rest of Europe. Let us try to calmly, wisely, and gradually solve the problems that have accumulated. Let us avoid all types of chauvinism and all types of cheap nationalist passions. [applause, chanting]

Let us try to solve in one year or three years the things that our West European neighbors had decades to solve. Let us try with levelheaded calmness to create such a model of coexistence of the majority with minorities, which will amaze those who are afraid we will not solve the problems we have inherited.

We have something on which to base it. The neighborly coexistence of Slovaks and Hungarians in Komarno, and the whole of southern Slovakia, should be an inspiration for such a village and town system, which will give rise to respect and not fear. Let us reject the principle...[applause]; let us reject the principle of collective guilt, but let us in certain cases allow people collective rights. Let us permit collective rights to all kinds of minorities, including minorities within minorities. [applause]

This is not just a task for the minorities who must clearly articulate their demands, but in particular for the majorities who must respect these demands, among other things also in their own interest. Trampling over the rights of any minority by the laws of nature becomes the trampling of one's own rights. [applause]

The totalitarian principle is indivisible and like a boomerang it strikes the one who propagates it. The citizens of the Czechoslovak state have and must have the right to speak the language their mother spoke to them; they have and must have...[applause]; they have and must have [applause, chants of: "Long live Havel!"] They have and must have the right to be educated in that language. They have and must have the right to nurture the culture, which is their own. [applause]

These inalienable rights must not become the matter for political speculations of any cliques, but must belong to everyone as a matter of course. Whether and when the staff of the faculty of education in Hungarian language will move from Nitra to Komarno and what will be its status in the future must not become the object of demagogical programs of political parties and of power-hungry individuals; it must be a matter for a matter-of-fact analysis and matter-of-fact concepts by relevant offices, concerned experts, and interested part of the general public. [applause]

The same thing applies to all other demands of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia and all minorities in our state and the entire Central and East Europe. If several Central European states, which freed themselves from the bondage of totalitarianism, formed together the principles of their policies towards nationalities—and this is already worked on—it would be marvelous. Such principles can stand on one basis only: on the basis of human rights, as they were formulated in the most various international documents. The implementation of these rights is a matter for well-considered policy toward nationalities of individual states, constructively formulated demands of their citizens and binding norms of international community. In southern Slovakia there are, fortunately, political forces which realize this and which are trying—Slovaks and Hungarians together—to act in this spirit. [applause]

This puts my mind at rest, as your president. I firmly believe that in the forthcoming elections you will elect such representatives who will allow themselves to be inspired by everything that is best in your joint home, who will not turn your justified demands into just a trump card in the power game or a fancy step in the dance for power. [applause]

So at the close I will repeat what I have already said: Let us try to disappoint all the pessimists and let us not allow ourselves to become just players in a football game designed for the purpose of providing thrilling entertainment to those on platforms far away. Mutual respect, understanding, and love between neighbors are the best foundation of the future policy of our newly built democratic state. The authentic Christian nature of the starting points for our action is not measured by the number of kisses of the pope's hand, but by the goodwill to renew the relationships of man with man in peace and love. [applause] If we are good to one another, the pope will also be pleased with us. I know him, and I know he is not all that interested in kisses on the hand, in particular of the political kind.

I end with a slogan, as it is appropriate for such a speech. I call out: Long live the fraternal coexistence of the Czech and Slovak nations and long live their fraternal coexistence with members of the other nations, who are citizens of our joint state. [applause] [end recording]

Urban on Prague Bombing, Civic Forum Plans

LD0406202290 Prague CTK in English 1955 GMT 4 Jun 90

[Text] Prague June 4 (CTK)—Representative of the Civic Forum political movement coordinating centre Jan Urban described here today the current disinformation campaign, including the Saturday attack in Prague's Old Town Square and slandering of Czechoslovak People's Party Chairman Josef Bartoncik, as a revenge of the forces toppled by the November 1989 revolution.

He said that the bomb attack was the first such event in Czechoslovakia's modern history, and that the choice of place and the technology used show that the perpetrator sought the biggest psychologial effect possible.

Jan Urban noted that the Civic Forum was warned by phone this morning that similar acts could continue, and gave examples of attempts at disinformation, including materials falsely compromising representatives of present political life. He said there is possibility that attempts will appear in the future to sow mistrust of the system which will emerge from the June parliamentary elections.

He pointed out that the Civic Forum conceived its pre-election campaign in a positive spirit, avoiding attacks against other political groupings.

Jan Urban told journalists that the deputies to the legislative bodies who will be elected in June for the Civic Forum will be people who had never cooperated with the State Security Corps adding that the Forum today received the results of the screening of its candidates carried out by the Interior Ministry at its own request.

Asked whether the Civic Forum list contained people who did not pass the screening, Jan Urban replied briefly "yes".

Speaking about the nearest future of the Civic Forum, he said that an overwhelming majority of its followers wish that it continue as a political movement also after the June parliamentary elections, but its structure should be built from below, from new self- governing units.

On prospects of the new government which will emerge from the elections, Jan Urban said it will not be one of a single party, but a coalition government. The Civic Forum is open to constructive talks with all political forces of Czechoslovakia, with the exception of the Communist Party.

In the Civic Forum's view the Slovak National Party will most probably be incapable of participating in decision-making at the federal level either, Jan Urban added.

Resolution Passed on Interior, Border Troops

LD0106173090 Prague Television Service in Czech 1730 GMT 1 Jun 90

[Text] Under a Federal Assembly resolution passed today, members of the Ministry of the Interior Troops and of the Border Guards can be assigned to carry out public security duties including, where necessary, duties to ensure security and public order. This legal measure takes effect today.

More on Election Platforms, Broadcasts, Activities

* People's Party Election Program

90CH0133A Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 4 May 90 p 3

["Election program" of the Czechoslovak People's Party]

[Text] The Czechoslovak People's Party [CSL], in full awareness of its Christian responsibility for the fate of our people, requests the support of all citizens of good will for the implementation of its program of socioeconomic, spiritual, and moral rebirth of our country, for the protection of the environment, for a return to a civilized, prosperous, and more human Europe.

After decades of a totalitarian, destructively collectivized system, with the country devastated in all areas, the CSL announces that it rejects socialism in any of its forms, and advocates a democratic community of free people, a civilization of people of good will, a civilization of love.

Our goal is freedom instead of socialism, respect for the individual, the preservation of life, individual development, concern for the family as the basic unit of society, emphasis on private enterprise and privatization, a strong economy, which will assure the social and cultural flowering of our peoples.

Family—School—Education

We must make it possible for mothers to decide whether to stay home with pre-school children; [we must] change, shift, and shorten the workday in ways that help the education of children. Mothers with children under 15 should have longer vacations.

Schools must strive to develop the creative abilities of each individual, teach a love and respect for knowledge and truth, provide for the harmonious development of intellectual, physical, and moral characteristics, prepare young people for a responsible attitude towards life, relationships, and marriage. The interests and abilities of a young person should be the sole determinants of that person's course of studies. We support Christian youth clubs and other organizations that facilitate their growth.

Nation—Homeland—State

The state exists for the citizen, not the citizen for the state. We must bring the legal code into line with generally accepted standards in order to restore respect for the law and to fully revive the state as a legal entity.

We must renew a love of our homeland, and respect for national traditions and culture based on Christian foundations.

We support a strengthening of Czech and Slovak national identity, just relationships between the Czech and Slovak Republics, and a just territorial and administrative organization of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia.

The basis of state administration should be the traditional "municipality", with the state granted only that authority that it absolutely needs.

We support a shortening of compulsory military service and improvements in its tasks and conditions. Alternative service must be an option, and the status of soldiers within society must be reevaluated.

We support full parliamentary control of the army and security apparatus. We must strengthen our struggle against violence, terror, and drug dealing. No units of either the Ministry of the Interior or Defense should be misused against our own people.

We demand an objective account of history, the investigation of crimes, deceits, and violent acts committed by the communist regime since 1948, and the rapid rehabilitation of all its victims.

Culture—Intellectual Life—Religion

The culture of our peoples is an inseparable part of European and world culture, and is the outcome of freedom of intellect. Religion is an important foundation for the creation of moral values and intellectual culture. The church and church community in an ecumenical sense must be accorded a position of honor, an autonomous structure, and internal life.

Health Care—Social Policy

We support all important social certainties: family support programs, improved conditions for families with many children, programs to support young married couples, employment, health and disability insurance. We support the use of church and charitable organizations to achieve a radical improvement in health care and social programs. We also support an emphasis on physical training as an essential part of the harmonious development of the individual.

We support a general improvement in retirement benefits, especially for private farmers, and price level stabilization.

The CSL considers social service to be a fulfillment of its Christian responsibility to help thy neighbor. We need to reorganize our health care system: get rid of the state monopoly, allow private practice, free choice of physicians, and changes in medical insurance.

The Environment

The ecological situation in the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic [CSFR] is among the worst in the world. We support the rapid approval of new laws in all affected areas: water, soil, air, forests, animals, cultural monuments...

We have to make it possible to speed up the installation of catalytic converters in passenger cars and trucks beginning in 1994, and to reduce harmful emissions by 80 percent beginning in 1995. Electric power requirements will come mainly from nuclear power plants with state of the art safety equipment. Special programs must be developed for the most affected areas, such as North Bohemia, which under the communist regime has become almost uninhabitable.

The Economy

Inefficient and destructive communist collectivism has made our country into a third-world country. Our standard of living has been achieved at the expense of future generations. A national budget deficit has been hidden.

We have eaten away at our national wealth, and destroyed our environment. These mistakes will be with us for a long time.

The only way to correct the problems is through a consistent and well thought-out economic reform, utilizing a social market mechanism based mainly on private ownership of the means of production, a free market, and effective social safeguards. The state and public industrial sectors must be reduced to an absolute minimum. Small and mid-sized companies and freely formed cooperatives must become the base of our economy.

Excessive concentration of property and existing monopolies can be dealt with by privatization in the form of changing state enterprises into stock companies or other types of business organizations.

Tax incentives must be provided to attract foreign capital. This is absolutely essential. Excessive purchasing power and domestic indebtedness can be reduced by establishing a securities market.

Promotions to managerial positions should be based solely on professional qualifications and responsibility. Wages must be based solely on economic performance.

The most basic change that must be made in agriculture is to re-establish the vital relationship between the farmer and the land which he works and the community in which he lives. Farmers can make their own decisions about how to organize their work.

State agricultural enterprises should be reduced in size only if efficiency and ecology-oriented studies indicate that a size reduction is desirable. Soil has to be managed so that it retains its fertility and does not harm the environment. Market mechanisms have to be introduced into agriculture.

The CSL, in line with its traditions, fully supports the cooperative concept in all economic areas. All cooperatives, however, must be based on the principles of free association of business owners and private property.

Foreign Policy

We support gradual disarmament, the disbanding of world power blocks, and cooperation on an equal footing.

A primary objective should be to develop relations with Western democracies and with those countries in Central and Eastern Europe that have definitely rejected the communist system and marxist ideology.

In the context of the political organization of Europe, we support a policy of military neutrality and changes that will allow us to leave CEMA and join the European Economic Space.

The CSL calls on all people of good will, from the countryside and the city, young and old, all believers in this country, but also all those who have so far been estranged from Christian principles of love. We call you to political responsibility for the fate of yourselves and your neighbors.

Our program is truly populist, nationalist, and forthright. We are striving for the greater good for all, in cooperation with other democratic forces.

* People's Party Leaders Profiled

90CH0074A Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 6 Apr 90 p 3

[Unattributed article: "Biographies of the CPP's Leading Representatives"]

[Text]

Biography of CPP [People's Party of Czechoslovakia] Chairman, J. Bartoncik, Esq.

CPP Chairman Josef Bartoncik was born on 18 March 1943 in Pozlovice in the Zlin okres [district] as one of seven children of a precision craftsman, who was a long-term functionary of the CPP and Czechoslovak Eagles [a Catholic gymnastics organization].

He graduated from the gymnasium in Uhersky Brod; for political reasons he was not accepted into high school and after graduation worked as a laborer. In 1965 he became a member of the CPP; eventually he became acting secretary of the local organization, a member of the plenum and presidium of the okres committee of the CPP, and a member of the kraj committee commission of our party.

From 1968 to 1969 he served as chairman of the kraj commission and deputy chairman of the central commission of young members of the CPP. At the 3d CPP Congress J. Bartoncik, Esq., was elected to the CPP Central Committee and held the office of leading secretary of the Kraj Committee of the CPP for the Southern Moravian Kraj. In the period 1968-69 he completed as a layman three semesters of divinity school in Olomouc and later studied in the law school of the J.E. Purkyne University in Brno, the present-day Masaryk University. For many years Dr. J. Bartoncik was a national committee delegate and in 1982 was elected in by-elections as a delegate to the Federal Assembly. In this function, he acted as a critic. Particularly well-known is his position toward the anti-democratic legislative measures enacted at the beginning of 1989. He collaborated with representatives of informal organizations supporting a return to democracy and helped with the printing and circulation of Christian samizdat in Moravia. He was among the leading personalities of the revival movement and was one of the head organizers of the meeting in Prague's Savarin Hotel. At the memorable sessions of the CPP Central Committee on the nights of 27 and 28 November 1989, he was elected chairman of the CPP. He devoted the party's considerable powers of spontaneous engagement to the process of the ongoing revolution. He is married and has three children.

Biography of First Deputy Chairman of the CPP, St. Hanak, MD

Stanislav Hanak, MD, was born 21 June 1934 in Olomouc. In 1952 he graduated from the Slovak gymnasium in Olomouc; in 1958 he entered the Palacky University medical school in Olomouc. After four years' service with the Okres National Medical Authority of Michalovec, he entered the children's clinic of the Olomouc medical center in 1962. He now serves as deputy chief of the clinic.

He entered the CPP in 1974, since 1986 he has been chairman of the Okres Committee of the CPP. Since 1989 he has been a member of the CPP PKV [Provisional Kraj Committee] for the Southern Moravian Kraj. On 26 November 1989 he became a member of the steering committee of the session of the CC CPP at which he was elected a member of the CC and PUV [Provisional Central Committee] of the CPP. He worked closely with the present-day CPP chairman informing the revival movement, particularly in central Moravia. At the congress he was elected first deputy chairman of the CPP. Since 1981 he had been a deputy and member of many Okres National Committees in Olomouc, and since 1988 he has been a delegate to the Chamber of Nations of the Federal Assembly; at the end of 1989 he became a member of the presidium of the Chamber of Nations. Dr. St. Hanak is married; his wife works as a laboratory technician in the medical school in Olomouc. The Hanaks have five children; their son Stanislav is a student as the Cyrilo-Methodian Divinity School in Litomerice.

Biography of General Secretary of the CPP, Jiri Cerny, Esq.

Jiri Cerny, Esq., was born on 7 April 1951 in Policka. Graduating from elementary school in Prosec u Skutce, he was later accepted into general middle school in Policka. He is a graduate of the law school at Charles University in Prague. After graduation he entered a starch manufacturing plant in Havlickuv Brod, where he worked as chief council. He is married and has three children. He lives in Havlickuv Brod. He has been a member of the CPP since 1985 in the local organization in Prosec u Skutce, where he worked as a member of the committee of the local organization. He was a participant in the CPP revival movement in Prague's Savarin Hotel of 14 October 1989. At the session of the CPP Central Committee of 27-28 November 1989, he was elected a member of the presidium of the CC CPP and, effective 3 January 1990, was named CPP central secretary. At the congress he was elected general secretary of the CPP.

* New Electoral Law Explained

90CH0080A Prague UCITELSKE NOVINY in Czech 5 Apr 90 pp 10-11

[Interview with Zdenek Jicinsky, deputy chairman of the Federal Assembly, by Luda Razimova; place and date not given: "Nine Weeks to Elections"—first paragraph is UCITELSKE NOVINY introduction]

[Text] "Free elections!" So rang through streets and squares during the November demonstrations one of the first demands as a natural desire of citizens longing for democracy. What will the elections, the first for most of us, be like? That will be seen in June. But we can acquaint ourselves even now with the basic principles of the new electoral law. Educators will be interested in it not only as citizens, but also because they will probably be explaining it to their students, and, where the teacher is still considered to be a disseminator of culture, most likely also to their fellow citizens. The deputy chairman of the federal assembly of the Czechoslovak Federal Republic, Professor Dr. Zdenek Jicinsky granted us an interview on the theme "What the New Electoral Law Brings" immediately after this law, forged out of a compromise of ideas of the key political forces in the Federal Assembly, was approved.

[Razimova] What is the essence of the new electoral system?

[Jicinsky] The difference is that elections, as we have known them here for the past 44 years, took place in single-mandate electoral districts. They were simple by virtue of the fact that there was always only one candidate, or in other words, there was no need to worry about the vote. But if we had strictly followed the formal provisions of the law, actually two or more candidates could have been nominated. Then the one receiving the majority of votes would have been elected. That is a system which is called a majority system. But that is not appropriate for the new elections, because in Czechoslovakia at this time the purpose is to create a truly democratic society, a pluralistic political system. That means a system in which there are more politically active entities, political parties with their own political programs in which they are seek to interest voters. That is a fundamental difference from the previous situation, when there was really just one political force in society—the Czechoslovak Communist Party—which actually made all the decisions, regardless of the fact that sometimes it carried out its decisions through the agency of the legislative bodies.

In the new situation, when there are more political parties and new ones are constantly being formed, the majority system used in single-mandate districts is not appropriate because it would lead to an undesirable polarization of society into two blocs—communist and civic, perhaps anticommunist. That would not be good. In addition the weaker political parties would be practically eliminated from this process, because in such elections they would not gain mandates.

But nothing is perfect. Therefore, of the various possibilities, the system that appears to us to be more equitable and democratic is a system which will enable each party participating in the elections to gain as many seats in the legislative bodies (that is, the Federal Assembly, or the Czech and Slovak National Councils) as will correspond with the percentage share of votes cast by voters in the elections. That is a system of proportional representation, and we have chosen it.

[Razimova] Can you give an example which would illustrate the functioning of the system of proportional representation?

[Jicinsky] Let us say that there will be 10 political parties putting up candidates for election. Each of them will gain 10 percent of the votes, and will receive 10 percent of the seats in the appropriate representative bodies. That is a theoretical example, because it is unlikely that all parties would receive an equal number of votes. At least that does not tend to happen in practice. And at this time we do not even know how many parties will be entering candidates. It is fair because the composition of the electoral district will be reflected in the composition of the representative bodies accordingly. We believe that in this sense the new electoral law represents something that will permit the creation through truly legal means of a democratic political system.

[Razimova] Who proposes the candidates for representatives?

[Jicinsky] People sometimes have the impression that it is not democratic enough if they do not have the opportunity to propose specific candidates by themselves, because according to the system of proportional representation the candidates running for election are proposed by the political parties. I think that these ideas often stem from certain illusions connected with the old system. But people then did not have a real opportunity to propose specific candidates, because they were presented to them by the National Front. In essence these were candidates approved one way or another by the agencies of the Communist Party, and people had no realistic possibility to influence either their selection or their election anyway. The point of the elections was to have people manifest their approval of what the Party and the National Front put in front of them.

People sometimes think that the lack of democracy of the former system could be overcome if they were now able to propose candidates whom they really trust and whom they might be acquainted with in their electoral districts, and who would be their democratically elected representatives. The problem is that the role of a representative in the newly elected bodies must be fundamentally changed, because until now the legislative bodies—according to the constitution the highest instruments of state power—actually did not have real power, because power—as was already mentioned—was in the hands of the Communist Party and its leading officials. This fact, which was fundamental to the operation of the former political system, no longer exists. Representatives who will be elected in June will really make decisions in the highest legislative bodies not only about laws but also about the basic concepts of state policies. Therefore they must be people who have the ability to make a judgment from various viewpoints about what is in the interest of the state and society. Understandably, groups of representatives will have different ideas according to various political viewpoints, because in society views on various questions of state policy are not identical.

[Razimova] Therefore, a plurality of opinions is also in the parliament?

[Jicinsky] Parties will differ in their main orientation. For example, the Greens could concentrate on resolving questions particularly from the standpoint of environmental protection, they may even be willing to push through limits on the standard of living as a price to be paid for improving the environment. This is, of course, not a position which all members of the population are willing to take. And neither will all political parties be willing to support the protection of ecological principles so assiduously in their programs.

Also, there will be diverse opinions on the solution of various problems among different strata of the populace—that is, the voters. That will be evident in how they relate to the different programs of the political parties. People will decide for which party to vote according to which program suits them best, if and how they will agree with various programs. Hard luck will befall those programs—impressive as they may be—which will be promoted by candidates who will not inspire sufficient trust in the voters. That can happen for many reasons. The citizens perhaps are acquainted with them and know that they held offices during the former regime but did not become positively involved in any way, and therefore they will not be convinced that such representatives would be able to push through new policies. But that is a somewhat abstract example, because I think that the parties will run candidates they believe will be able to gain the confidence of the people. But people's opinions of politicians can vary. They will then decide accordingly which party they will trust based on the goals of its program and based on the people who promise to carry them out.

[Razimova] At which stage will we, as voters, learn the names of candidates for representatives?

[Jicinsky] The electoral law states that parties must announce their candidates no later than 60 days before the elections, and people will then know who is to represent which party.

The idea that citizens could select individual candidates by themselves is rather illusory, because for now, and in view of the short duration of the democratization process of our society, they cannot be sufficiently informed and therefore it has to be done for them.

As a starting point we took the electoral system which was used here during the first republic and which was still used in the elections of 1946. Even though at that time it was used in a system not entirely democratic, because the number of political parties was limited to the four parties active within the framework of the National

Front. That practice has been dropped. Every political party, political movement, or their coalition has the right to offer its own slate of candidates for election, provided it can prove that it has 10,000 members or signatures of citizens recommending its candidacy in the elections. The purpose of these measures is to prevent candidacy by every party no matter how small, even if it perhaps has only a central committee but may have practically no members. That is not desirable, because we do not want an extensive splintering of the political forces. Even while respecting political freedom, society nevertheless needs the elections to provide fairly strong political representations of political parties in the Federal Assembly and the national councils. So that it will be then possible to form a truly stable government, able to implement a well thought-out economic and social policy. That will be a very complicated affair. If there is a considerable splintering of political forces in these bodies—let us say that 30 political parties take part in the elections and they gain only two or three seats each—then it would be very difficult to put together out of such shreds any solid coalition base for forming a government.

[Razimova] What number of parties participating in elections would be sustainable, in your opinion?

[Jicinsky] I cannot give an answer to that. Developments in Western democracies led to a gradual decline of the number of parties after elections for representatives to the highest assemblies. That, of course, is the result of democratic developments in those countries over a long time. But at a time when an undemocratic system is being transformed into a democratic one, a large number of new political parties always emerges. That is a natural phenomenon, which cannot be legally prevented; and it would not even be right to do so. The electoral law only serves to prevent this mass of political organizations to be directly and completely reflected in the composition of the legislative bodies. Therefore, besides the conditions for participating in the elections—that is, 10,000 members or signatures of sympathetic citizens, meaning that the party proved that it has a certain membership base or citizens's signatures—this is ensured also by the so-called 5-percent electoral clause. It means that candidates will be elected to the represenative bodies only of those parties which will receive 5 percent of the votes in each republic. In other words, a party must receive at least 5 percent of the vote in order to be counted for the purpose of electing representatives. A party which receives only 4.5 percent will not gain any seats, in other words, it will not be represented in the highest legislative bodies.

[Razimova] What kind of electoral systems are used abroad?

[Jicinsky] The system of proportional representation is the one most frequently used in European countries. In some it is combined with the majority system. In England, or in a different form in France, the majority system is used. On the other hand, the Federal Republic of Germany uses the system of proportional representation, but it is combined with single-mandate districts. Austria, Italy, the Scandinavian countries and many others use the system of proportional representation. It is the most widely used system in Europe.

[Razimova] How did you arrive at the final form of the law?

[Jicinsky] The concept of the elections and the electoral law were discussed in the committees of the Federal Assembly, in the Czech and Slovak National Councils and lastly in both chambers of the Federal Assembly. The law was finally approved for this election. The election is for a two-year term. Then we shall see.

However, this final phase concerning the nature of the law was preceded by quite complicated preparations. The draft of the electoral law was drawn up by a group of representatives from the Federal Assembly. It is not a draft law that the government drew up. The nature of the thing indicates that such a draft cannot be presented by the government, but that it is a matter for the representatives of certain political parties and political movements. Provisions of the electoral law were debated in roundtable discussions among representatives of the key political forces—that is, the existing political parties and civic movements such as the Civic Forum and Public Against Violence. First, the decision was made to use the system of proportional representation as the system which best suits our current conditions. In the following sessions controversial matters that came up during the drafting of the electoral law were discussed.

The question came up, for example, whether there should be a single slate of candidates for the entire republic, or whether the slates should be divided according to certain areas, so that citizens would be better acquainted with the candidates and therefore relate to them better than would be the case if there were a single republic-wide slate. We came to the conclusion that citizens would probably have a hard time finding their way among the hundreds of candidates. It was therefore agreed to establish electoral districts. For each of them a maximum number of candidates will be set according to the number of its residents (in Prague, for example, 20 for the Chamber of People and 15 for the Chamber of Nations), in view of the fact that there will be a maximum of 15 or 14 electoral seats.

[Razimova] Is there a provision for alternates?

[Jicinsky] Yes. Because in the system of proportional representation, in case a representative must give up his seat or his seat will become vacant (by death, for example), there are no by-elections but the alternate fills the seat. The former system of by-elections or the practice of recalling representatives is incompatible with the system of proportional representation. To be more specific, candidates who do not gain a seat either in the first or the second count, become alternates. If a seat becomes vacant, an alternate of the same political party will fill it automatically.

All these questions crystallized during the discussion among the key political forces. And shortly thereafter citizens also expressed their views on the draft law; we made a record of their most important suggestions. We had to react to their views, and try, as long as they were reasonable and compatible with the electoral system, to take them into consideration and include them in the proposals that were being drafted.

In the beginning there was agreement only on the basic matters, then the proposals were modified and viable models of solutions sought.

[Razimova] Which citizens' suggestions did you accept, for example?

[Jicinsky] There was, for instance, a frequently expressed demand that a voter be able to influence the sequence of candidates on the slate, that is, a chance to indicate preference. That was included, although originally it met with objections. The result is that a voter may indicate by drawing a circle around no more than four candidates on one slate, or ballot, which of them he prefers.

Another "innovation" which grew out of citizens' suggestions is that political affiliation can be indicated on the slate. That can appear strange, because, after all, these are candidates of political parties. But we have to keep in mind that even on the slates of political parties there could be people who do not belong to that party. They are independent in the sense that they are not members of that party, but the party may be interested in having these people on their slate, and they in turn may have reasons to want to be included on the slate of a certain political party. That is important especially in the case of the new civic movements which will take part in the elections, such as the Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence, in whose framework are active several newly formed political parties that do not expect to have their own slates in the elections. On the slate will simply appear the name and the affiliation to the political party or movement, or the fact that this is a independent candidate without any party affiliation. In this way we did our best to meet the fairly frequently expressed demand that people do not just elect political parties but also have the chance to elect also specific people whom they trust. In that way the elections are combined with the acknowledgment of the role of politicians, even the independent ones.

[Razimova] Then there will also be independent candidates?

[Jicinsky] Yes, but not independent in the true sense. We do not expect that independent candidates could run for election individually, but only within the framework of the slate of a party or movement. Otherwise it would conflict with the electoral system in multi-mandate districts. The slate will have several names on it, because the electoral district is large; therefore, you cannot have an individual candidate running. If such a candidate were to run for election and if he were to receive more votes than is necessary to be elected, then the surplus of the votes would be lost because it could not be assigned to anyone else. If a slate contains more candidates—and if it receives more votes than is necessary to elect a certain number of representatives—the remaining votes are not lost but are transferred to the so-called second count. In the second count the remaining votes for the appropriate party are added up and other citizens are elected as representatives according to the total of the remaining votes for that party.

A system of totally independent candidates would conflict with these principles. Not to mention the fact that it would make possible what the electoral law wants to prevent. That is, that these candidates would not be in reality independent candidates, but crypto-candidates, in other words, disguised candidates of those weak political parties which otherwise would fail in the elections, if only because they would not have enough members or supporters, or because they would not reach the prescribed 5-percent quorum (a quorum is the lowest number of votes prescribed as a condition for gaining a mandate). That would be circumventing the provisions of the electoral law, by which we aim to prevent too great a splintering of the political representation.

[Razimova] Who can be elected and who has the right to vote?

[Jicinsky] Any citizen of the republic can be proposed. He must be 21 years old by the time of the elections. Any citizen who is 18 years old can vote.

In contrast to the previous system, there will be an actual right to vote. The right to vote was contained in the law even then, but in practice it became a duty to vote, because there was an outside pressure on citizens to vote. Now it will be up to the citizens to decide on their own whether to vote and for whom.

What is essential is that the vote must be secret. It is not up to the voter's discretion whether he will cast a secret or an open ballot. As long as he comes to vote, he must carry out the preparation for the act of casting a ballot, that is, the selection of one or another slate and putting it in the official envelope, in the election area behind a screen. The area where the voting takes place must be arranged in such a way that nobody is behind the screen together with the voter. The voter will then place the envelope, in which he put one ballot apiece for each of the Assemblies and the national council, in the urn. That concludes the act of voting. What is important is precisely the fact that it must be secret.

[Razimova] Allow me one practical question. When and how will I, as a voter, decide in practice?

[Jicinsky] First, on the basis of the election programs in the election campaign of each political party or movement. According to law, the election campaigning begins 40 days prior to and ends 48 hours before the voting begins. The parties will draw numbers which will then be entered on their slates. They will contain the name of the party, names of all the candidates and their sequence.

The voter will receive the slates of all parties in the form of ballots at his residence prior to the elections so that he can become acquainted with it more closely. He will have at least three days to get information about individual candidates, and if there is one he does not know, to find out who that candidate is and to decide whether he likes him or not, whether he should give him his vote or whether he should circle—show his preference for—somebody else on the slate, if he decides in favor of the slate on which his name appears. But he always must choose only one of the slates; he can vote for one party or one political movement. However, citizens will be still informed about the practical questions and technical requirements which will be explained to them.

[Razimova] We are talking about elections to both chambers of the Federal Assembly and the Czech and Slovak National Council. How about elections for the national committees?

[Jicinsky] We have been saying for some time that it would be appropriate to hold elections to the highest and the lowest representative bodies, that is, national committees, separately. Elections to local representative bodies, or—as they are called abroad—municipal elections, have a different character. This idea has not been realized until now. Both elections were combined in one and that led to frequent misunderstandings. A voter felt that even a representative in the Federal Assembly should also carry out the election program of the national committee, that, for example, he should take care of the voters' water main, or something like that. Now the elections are held separately. First, on 8 and 9 June, elections to the highest representative bodies will be held, and in the fall, sometime at the end of November, will be elections to the national committees.

[Razimova] Are fundamental changes in the structure of the highest representative bodies being considered?

[Jicinsky] Reduction of the number of representatives in the Chamber of People by 50 is being contemplated. Otherwise the bi-cameral structure of the Federal Assembly, with both chambers having equal standing, will not be changed at this time. These questions, as well as constitutional relations to the national councils and basic questions on the future operation of the Czechoslovak Federation, need to be looked at again in connection with the overall concept of federation. But that will be a matter for the new constitution, which should be worked out and approved by the new Federal Assembly which will result from the free elections.

Civic Forum Election Broadcast

LD0406104190

[Editorial report] Prague Domestic Service in Czech at 0315 GMT on 4 June carries a five-minute election broadcast on behalf of Civic Forum—the last in the current election campaign. Interspersed with Civic Forum's election campaign tune, Jan Urban, member of the Council of the movement's coordinating center, when asked what will happen with Civic Forum after the elections, said that it will certainly not become a political party with card-carrying members, or central, regional, and district committees. Some political groups and parties will certainly leave it, but Civic Forum would like to begin—immediately after the elections are over—a large-scale public debate with people who support the movement on what to do next, and to call a Civic Forum congress in September or October to clarify all the issues. He says that the movement is akin to the very modern and extensively more widespread method of organization of political movements in West Europe, and that there is a possibility that one day the movement will become a U.S.-type political party, without formal membership, with only minimal local apparatus, which would not be subordinate to anyone.

The broadcast ends by citing John F. Kennedy's words: Ask not what your country can do for you; ask what you can do for your country. People are asked to weigh up what future they will elect in a few day's time.

Civic Forum, VPN Propose Constitutional Change

LD0306184290 Prague CTK in English 1746 GMT 3 Jun 90

[Text] Prague June 3 (CTK)—Soon after the parliamentary elections in Czechoslovakia, due on June 8-9, the Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence [VPN] movements will propose a change in the federal constitution so that the Czech and Slovak republics may administer all that is necessary for their economic, cultural and political sovereignty.

In their statement to the citizens of Czechoslovakia today, the Civic Forum in the Czech republic and its Slovak counter-part the Public Against Violence said their alliance is not only an alliance for the elections but an alliance to promote the coexistence of the Czech and Slovak nations in a democratic federation." [no open quotation marks as received] "After the elections we want a federal government that will fully respect the rights and interests of the two republics by its composition but above all by its program and ability to implement it," the statement said.

The two movements, which headed the drive for democratic changes and a multi-party system in November 1989, proposed that only ministries whose work bring benefit to both republics and are advantageous for them should remain in the federal government's competence. The confirmation of the sovereignty and statehood of the republics must be reflected in a new definition of their legislative powers, the statement said.

Dubcek on VPN Platform

LD0106175390 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 0750 GMT 1 Jun 90

[Text] The Public Against Violence [Verejnost proti nasiliu] [VPN] wishes you good morning. Our number one candidate, Federal Assembly Chairman Alexander Dubcek, will address you:

[Begin Dubcek recording] Esteemed Voters! After some years you will be able to vote in free elections on 8 and 9 June 1990. You will decide not only your own future, but also the future of your children, of the nation, and of the republic.

I am a candidate for the VPN, and I am addressing you to tell you what I want to strive for, and to ask you for your trust and your vote. For 22 years I tried to prevent the further worsening of the situation in Czechoslovakia by reforms which were to correct many shortcomings that had been burdening our society since 1948—above all in the 1950's. Prague Spring ended during the night of 21 August 1968. My friends and I and all progressive people were in the 20 years that followed persecuted, slandered, and many were imprisoned. We have, however, remained unbroken, because truth, morality, and the wish for freedom and democracy, for a socially just, humane world, were on our side.

In November 1989 we again stood together in the first ranks against the corrupted totalitarian power, to help, after its overthrow, society come out of its deep crisis. I have again become the chairman of the Federal Assembly, and I have devoted all my energy to the renewal of the Republic, to gaining people's trust and obtaining international recognition and aid. The Federal Assembly has through its legislative activity strengthened the irreversible nature of our course, and has laid the foundations for a new democratic society.

We are only at the very beginning of a path which is not easy—one which will require all our efforts and devotion in the political and above all in the economic sphere. If you give me your trust and if I am elected a deputy to the Federal Assembly, I will work for our Republic to join Europe as a worthy member and to contribute to the further development of human civilization and freedom. I will guard the bequest of our predecessors and will assist in the building of a socially just, democratic, and pluralist society, in which all citizens will be equal, where man is not persecuted for his faith, convictions, or knowledge, where both our nations and other nationalities will live in harmony, and where the statehood of both the Slovak and Czech nations will become stronger within the framework of a common federative republic.

If you give me your trust, your vote, I will work in such a way that we—by building a prosperous, modern economy—create the basis for a happy and safe life for all citizens, for the fulfillment of their social, intellectual, and cultural needs, and for the consistent protection of our beautiful Slovak country, because it is the heritage which we have to hand over, less devastated and cleaner than it is today, to future generations. The Public Against Violence offers you a chance for Slovakia, a chance for all! [end recording]

VPN Election Broadcast

LD0206133390

[Editorial Report] Prague Domestic Service in Slovak at 0515 GMT on 2 June carries a five-minute election broadcast by Public Against Violence [VPN]. The broadcast begins by citing the case of a woman who was scared to reveal her name over the telephone and who asked that VPN state on the radio that there is no truth in the threat raised by Christian Democratic Movement, CDM, candidates. "Their East Slovak deputy shouted at us that he will find out which village did not cast its vote for the CDM and that he would subsequently publish this in the Catholic newspaper, that our children will not be christened, and that we will be refused last rites. Excuse me, but can we believe that these elections are free?" asked the frightened woman. The announcer assures the voters that nobody, not even a village priest, will find out for whom they voted. He notes that the VPN is against election violence, and presents a rendition of well-known Slovak folk songs, with the lyrics ridiculing the Communist Party and highlighting the VPN's policies.

In conclusion it is pointed out that another two years should be given to the present government to implement the changes with which we agree. "Let's cast our vote for democracy; let's vote for movement number five [number five on the ballot].

Republican Party Political Broadcast

LD0106165190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2004 GMT 31 Jun 90

[From the "Elections 1990" program]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Dear listeners, welcome to the broadcast of the radical right-wing party: Association for the Republic-Czechoslovak Republican Party [Sdruzeni pro Republiku-Republikanske Strany Ceskoslovenska], which is running in this year's elections as No. 8 [on the ballot]. The Czechoslovak Republican Party is a free political party not weighted down by its past and by cooperation with the dictatorship. [passage omitted] I would like to introduce to you Dr Miroslav Sladek, chairman of the Association for the Republic-Czechoslovak Republican Party. [passage omitted] Doctor, how do you assess the current political situation in our republic?

[Sladek] The current political situation can be assessed in just one word: a catastrophe. What looked so promising after 17 November 1989 seems to have fallen asleep lately. The leading representatives of the Civic Forum have doled out cushy jobs among themselves, and it looks as if the government only discusses its own problems, parliament argues about details, nonsense, hyphens and commas, instead of adopting the laws necessary for introducing democracy and a market economy.

[Announcer] What is the right-wing parties situation?

[Sladek] The political spectrum in Czechoslovakia is oversaturated with parties having a left-wing orientation. [passage omitted]

Farmers Alliance Broadcast

LD0206142190

[Editorial Report] Prague Domestic Service in Czech at 0750 GMT on 2 May broadcasts a nine-minute election broadcast by the Alliance of Farmers and Rural Areas. The program consists of recorded portions of an address by Frantisek Trnka, chairman of the Czechoslovak Agrarian Party, delivered at a recent news conference. Trnka is running for deputy to the Federal Assembly of the South Moravia region.

Speaking about the policy of the coalition alliance and about the election policies of other parties, Trnka says that today, instead of specifiying the objectives of individual parties' policies, it is more relevant to say how these objectives can be achieved. This, he says, is most pertinent for the planned reintroduction of private enterprise, where this process should be outlined in more specific terms. He notes that intensive work on economic strategy is carried out by his party in the spheres of the party's interest.

Speaking about the preelection situation in the countryside, Trnka says that the farmers should vote the way they themselves desire. With regard to his party's stand he notes: "We must heed people's wishes and therefore we shall continue to adapt our policies, our objectives, and aims to these views. I am deeply convinced that it would be a pity to break up the great units which exist in the countryside today. However, at the same time, I am convinced that—and please regard this as my own view—in my estimate private farmers and the private sector should farm at least 20 percent of agricultural land." The existing mass production must be remodeled into enterpreneurial bodies independent in financial and production terms, Trnka notes.

Speaking about the allegedly predominent left-wing orientation of the countryside, he says: "This is simply not true. I do visit the countryside. The countryside is first and foremost honest and wants to work honestly." He goes on to discuss his views of right- and left-wing politics and notes: "If this is measured by classical yardsticks, then the most left-wing party would be the Civic Forum, because is strives for a radical change of society." He notes that all injustices committed in the past should be remedied. But kindling passions and saying this can be done in a week or a month is improper, he states, adding that just to gather the data on land ownership will take 10 years.

In conclusion, he speaks about public opinion polls, and notes: "They are consciously used to disinform the public. The published polls are not truthful. According to the poll ordered by the Czechoslovak People's Party, our party polls more than 7 percent. We have paid for a similar poll, too, and it confirms 7.3 percent." He goes on to say that the party possesses no election trump cards because these cards produce nothing but half-truths. In fact, his party has dissociated itself from this policy in the past and will do so also in the future, Trnka notes.

Christian Democratic Movement Broadcast

LD0406153790 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 0650 GMT 4 Jun 90

[Excerpts] Esteemed listeners, in today's broadcast, on behalf of the Christian Democratic Movement [krestansko demokraticke hnutie], Dr. Jan Carnogursky, chairman of the council of this movement and deputy federal premier, will address you:

[Begin Carnogursky recording] It will be difficult for you in the elections—in Slovakia, 15 political parties and movements are putting forward their candidates, and you have to decide which one to vote for. It is difficult above all because there is very little difference between their programs: All parties and movements are distancing themselves from the past undemocratic conditions, all are in favor of democratization, all are in favor of a market economy, all are in favor of free elections. We, too, are in favor of all these goals. We have been supporting them for a very long time. Our magazine, BRATISLAVSKE LISTY, has been published—first as a Samizdat publication—since 1988. This was the first and the only magazine in Slovakia, openly opposing the communist regime, which was published under the full name and address of the publisher.

Christianity is the ideological basis of the Christian Democratic Movement. [passage omitted on Christianity] We therefore have something to draw on. We take care that our functionaries are personalities with integrity, honesty, and that they are upright people. There is not a single one among our candidates for deputies who was compromised under the previous communist regime. They have shown their firmness and resistance against the past regime by the fact that they did not abandon their faith, even when this brought them disadvantages in employment. On the other hand we guarantee that if we win the voters' trust, we will clean up both the state and economic apparatus from remnants of the old regime.

We are striving for organs of the Slovak Republic to be able to decide freely which powers they will keep exclusively for themselves and which they will delegate to federal bodies. At the same time we protect and assert Slovak interests in such a way as not to disturb the friendship between Slovaks and Czechs. In the Czech Republic we have formed an election bloc with the People's Party and the Christian Democratic Party [krestansko-demokraticka strana]. Our election bloc is becoming the strongest political alliance in the Czech Republic. True, in the Slovak Republic we are going to the elections on our own. [end recording] [music] [passage omitted on Christian ideals, details about BRATISLAVSKE LISTY]

Christian Democratic Union Preelection Rally

LD0306184390 Prague CTK in English 1727 GMT 3 Jun 90

[Text] Velehrad, South Moravia, June 3 (CTK)—Thousands of supporters and members of the Czechoslovak People's Party, the Slovak Christian Democratic

Movement, the Christian Democratic Party and other parties and movements supporting the union gathered here today for what was so far the largest pre-election event.

At a gathering of pilgrims, People's Party Chairman Josef Bartoncik stressed that parties within the Union do not want to form a new hegemony in the future but saw their mission in line with the basic Christian task in serving the people. In the economic sphere, this meant completing the economic reform and pursuing market economy.

Chairman of the Christian Democratic Movement in Slovakia Jan Carnogursky said the elections will complete the defeat of Communism, they will confirm that the leading role of the Communist Party will never again be restored in this country, and thus the two principal demands of the revolution will be fulfilled.

Jan Carnogursky stated that Slovakia does not want to break away from the Czech Republic. "Slovakia is aware of the advantages of the union with the Czech nation in one single state. This common state is our common ship to take us into a broad united Europe to which we belong and into which we want to return," he said.

The rally was greeted by guests from the FRG and Italy, and also present were representatives of religious organizations from Britain, Austria, Ireland, the USSR, the USA and other countries.

Democratic Forum Berates Economic Policy

LD0406153890 Prague CTK in English 1333 GMT 4 Jun

[Text] Prague June 4 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Democratic Forum said today the present Czechoslovak Government started an economic reform about which the public is not sufficiently informed and which will ruin the economy.

In its statement, delivered to newsmen, the Democratic Forum said the reform would also mean liquidating the basic economic rights of citizens and bringing Czechoslovakia among the most backward countries of Europe, adding that the policy of raising prices was a policy of inflation, opening up the Polish way.

The Czechoslovak Democratic Forum, a left political party with a membership of over 3,000 people, expects to win about six to seven per cent of votes in the parliamentary elections on June 8-9, through pre-election surveys gave it roughly two per cent of votes.

In its statement the Czechoslovak Democratic Forum also noted that the government had so far done nothing to the benefit of the private sector. It said the started path of development devalues the rate of the Czechoslovak currency, with inflation replacing deflation. The government does not control the process but looks idly upon it, it said. According to the Forum's estimates Czechoslovakia will have more than 100,000 unemployed in July.

Democratic Party Seeks Coalition Government

LD0406165990 Prague CTK in English 1524 GMT 4 Jun 90

[Text] Bratislava June 4 (CTK)—The Democratic Party, following up the traditions and program of the Democratic Party which came into existence in Slovakia in 1948, strives for the creation of a strong coalition government which would be able to rely on the majority of at least 65 percent of seats in the parliament, chairman of the party Martin Kvetko told a press conference here today.

The democratic party is of the opinion that no party will gain such a number of votes which will enable it to create a government by itself. Therefore the party counts with the creation of a coalition government and wants to share in its composition. "We will not form a coalition with the communists and with the Slovak National Party which has based its pre- election activities on stepped-up nationalism, regardless of the existing economic structures", he underlined.

Slovak National Party Statement

LD0406192790 Prague CTK in English 1730 GMT 4 Jun 90

[Text] Bratislava June 4 (CTK)—"The Slovak National Party wants to Slovak nation to join the future confederation of the European nations with its own statehood which is considered the supreme guarantee for national identity and the final aim of every sovereign nation. The choice of the Slovak nation will be decisive", said a statement of the Slovak National Party published in the Slovak Trade Union Daily PRACA today.

The Slovak National Party follows up the traditions of its predecessor of 1861 which strove for the rights of the Slovaks living in the monarchy of Austria-Hungary, the document said, adding that the program statement of the party issued at the beginning of this year and interviews with its representatives prove that the party in no case wants to split the common Czecho- Slovak state.

Firms To Evaluate Election Results

LD0406164190 Prague CTK in English 1518 GMT 4 Jun 90

[Text] Prague June 4 (CTK)—A mere thirty minutes after polling stations have closed down in Czechoslovakia at 12.00 GMT on June 9 the first partial results of a survey conducted by the West German firm Infas together with the Czechoslovak Television and the Public Opinion Poll Institute and in cooperation with the French Bull company will be announced on television.

The prognosis will be worked out on the basis of a poll in 261 electoral districts throughout Czechoslovakia. Polled will be every 17th voter, i.e. about 12,000 people in the whole country.

Czechoslovak Television will broadcast the judgement in three blocs on Saturday starting with the results of the poll at 12.30 GMT, to be followed by results of the election prognosis at 16.30, and statistically very precise analyses in the evening.

Since the first official results of the elections to the Czechoslovak parliament, and the Czech and Slovak National Councils (supreme legislative bodies in the national republics) will be known only on Sunday afternoon or in the evening, the survey will probably be the sole source of information for post-election considerations.

The Infas firm conducted similar surveys in the recent parliamentary elections on the GDR with a difference of a maximum of 1.6 per cent, [figure as received] an exceptional precision, and in Romania where the difference between prognosis and reality amounted to a mere three per cent.

Minister Stracar Views Roundtable

LD0406180590 Prague CTK in English 1557 GMT 4 Jun 90

[Text] Prague June 4 (CTK)—Czechoslovak minister of metallurgy, engineering and electrical engineering Slavomir Stracar handed a statement to CTK today reacting to the pre-election round table discussion of political parties' representatives broadcast by Czechoslovak television last night.

"A representative of the Slovak National Party voiced the opinion that the national understanding government has launched the program of conversion of the arms industry, thus jeopardizing the employment of tens of thousands of workers of enterprises in Central Slovakia, especially of the heavy engineering enterprise in Martin...The claims that conversion will be followed by the unemployment of tens of thousands of people is ungrounded because enterprises producing special technology in Slovakia now employ some 85,000 workers. Civilian production accounts today already for three-fourths of the overall production. In the transition to civilian productions many workers will naturally have to undergo requalification. This is a common problem of all enterprises in the world which fundamentally change their production programs", Minister Stracar stressed in his statement, and resolutely denied reports according to which e.g. the production of tanks should be transferred to the Skoda Enterprise in Plzen (West Bohemia).

* Social Democrat, Socialist Ties Viewed

90CH0111A Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 3 May 90 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Jiri Horak, chairman of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party, by Oldrich Doskocil; place and date not given: "In the People's House Again"—first two paragraphs are SVOBODNE SLOVO introduction]

[Text] The postwar generation knows only from textbooks—that is, from pro-communist textbooks—about the fights waged in the 1920's for the People's House in Hybernska Street in Prague 1 by the Social Democratic Party, which was the original workers' party, with its left-wing faction, the Communist Party. At that time the social democrats were able to defeat the communists. After the coup in February 1948, it was just the opposite. The People's House was then turned into V. I. Lenin's museum. Today it again serves as the headquarters of the central secretariat of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party. The ghost of the communist totalitarianism has vanished; thus, we were eager to learn what kind of people we shall find there now.

We met with the chairman of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party, Professor Dr. Horak. At the threshold of his study already we felt a breath of a democratic atmosphere that seemed downright global; as a matter of fact, Professor Dr. J. Horak is a political scientist who for 13 years was the chairman of the political science department at Manhattan College in New York.

[Doskocil] Mr. Chairman, you used to work as press secretary for B. Lausman who later became chairman of the CSSD [Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party]. You left our republic after the communist coup in 1948. What have you been doing abroad in the political area?

[Horak] I started as a member of the executive of the Association of Czechoslovak Political Refugees in Germany; then I served as the general secretary of the central union of the Czechoslovak Students' Association in Exile, the general secretary of the central committee of the Social Democratic Youth which I represented in the Socialist Youth Internationale. Since the late 1950's I have served as a member of the executive of the Council of Free Czechoslovakia, whose general secretary I became in 1972. That provided the basis for my close cooperation with the representatives of the National Socialist Party in Exile, Professor V. Krajina, O. Hora, M. Fic and the current member of your executive Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, L. Drobilkova. With P. Tigrid I was in 1956 the co-founder and later the publisher and member of the editorial board of the SVEDECTVI magazine, and so on.

[Doskocil] Our young people do not know much about social democracy; what they do know was distorted by communist demagoguery. How could you characterize the present-day Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party?

[Horak] Our party is now the oldest Czechoslovak political party. It was founded in 1878. In the past it protected workers' interests, had fought for—and won—universal suffrage, championed women's status in society, and promoted democracy under the aegis of T. G. Masaryk who in 1900 at the notable miners' assembly in Kladno demanded an eight-hour workday. Social democrats also helped build our first republic; after community elections in 1919 our party was the country's largest; the prime minister was its member. During the era of the first republic it was the second largest party; except for an interval of three years, it was represented in every coalition government where it respected its political partners and in turn was respected by them.

T. G. Masaryk said about social democracy that it is a party that always puts state interests above party interests. For a brief period in 1938-39 its name was changed to the National Labor Party. It participated in a meaningful way in the struggle against fascism; many of its representatives had to pay for it with their lives, while others carried on the party's work in exile. After the liberation in 1945 it and three other parties constituted the government. After the communist coup in 1948 it was brutally suppressed. Despite attempts of the ruling communist party to delete the existence of the social democratic movement from people's minds, it reappeared on the political scene during the Prague Spring. It is symbolic that the communist party leadership at that time would not permit social democracy to function, which it justified by saying that such an act would infringe on the process of democratization. On the other hand, a petition for the renewal of social democracy in those days was endorsed by such personages as V. Havel, now the president, and Dr. A. Masarykova, T. G. Masaryk's granddaughter who is now running for election on our ballot.

In the past 40 years social democracy defended its interest and the interests of the Czechoslovak democracy in exile as part of the Socialist Internationale. In our republic the party was restored two days after the beginning of the "gentle revolution" and again joined in the building of our democratic state.

[Doskocil] What contacts had the social democracy with our National Socialist Party which now continues under the name of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party?

[Horak] It is interesting that you are asking precisely this question, because my first article written in 1948 for NOVA DOBA, a magazine of students in exile, was focused on this particular topic. At that time I asked why were we indulging in the luxury of having two parties with similar political orientations. It is true that before the end of the 19th century your party, with its emphasis on nationalities policies, provided an answer to the so- called Marxist and international feelings of social democracy, but during the years of the first republic both parties came very close together and collaborated on the governmental level. In my personal opinion, the Czechoslovak political spectrum should be substantially simplified in the future. I would like to see a strong party of democratic socialism left of center and a strong party with a conservative orientation right of center, something like the German or Italian Christian democratic movements.

[Doskocil] What is the current relationship between the CSSD and the CSS [Czechoslovak Socialist Party]?

[Horak] Our general secretary, Eng. J. Paroubek, and I have had several meetings with the representatives of your Czechoslovak Socialist Party—its chairman, J. Vyvadil, and its executive secretary, S. Kliment. We agreed on several specific points of cooperation. I think that your party has a competent representative in the person of the CSS chairman Dr. J. Vyvadil. I believe that our cooperation will be based on mutual trust and respect and that it will continue successfully. I hope that a similar process will also take place on lower levels.

[Doskocil] Thank you for the interview.

GERMAN REUNIFICATION

Notice to Readers: *Reportage on German reunification may also be found in the Federal Republic of Germany section of the West Europe DAILY REPORT and pertinent sections of the East Europe JPRS Report. Third country comment is published as available in the appropriate DAILY REPORT or JPRS publication.*

Meckel: Superpower Summit 'Important Success'

LD0406203690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1939 GMT 4 Jun 90

[Text] Copenhagen (ADN)—Foreign Minister Markus Meckel has described the Soviet-U.S. summit as an important success. Meckel, who is in Copenhagen for tomorrow's CSCE meeting [5 June] of foreign ministers, believes the main point of progress is the fact that the two superpowers are able to meet in an atmosphere of openness and are attempting "to organize security together and no longer to build up security against one another." This may be seen from the concrete disarmament results and projects, the foreign minister told ADN in reference to the START agreement, the reduction in chemical weapons, and the stipulations on the Vienna disarmament conference. Meckel made a positive evaluation of the progress on bilateral issues. He was skeptical, however, about whether it is right to lay down conditions for the granting of most-favored-nation status by the United States.

With reference to the security policy status of a united Germany, the foreign minister said the much-awaited breakthrough had not transpired. It was clear the USSR would not place even economic talks and offers before matters of security policy. The important thing now is not the discussion of membership or nonmembership in NATO, but "making a real start at last" on discussing "the specific form of security structures in East and West." In this connection, Meckel mentioned the possible creation of a "security zone in the present GDR, Poland, the CSFR, and possibly also Hungary, in the framework of a corresponding security treaty, which would then stand up to scrutiny. Here I feel there is a definite need for reflection, and we intend to participate actively in talks on this," Markus Meckel said.

Meckel, Skubiszewski Discuss Border

LD0506123690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1202 GMT 5 Jun 90

[Text] Copenhagen (ADN)—Questions of a treaty concerning Poland's western border were the focal point of an extensive conversation, which Foreign Minister Markus Meckel conducted with his Polish counterpart, Krzysztof Skubiszewski, on the sidelines of the CSCE human rights conference in Copenhagen. It was announced that the two sides expressed the hope that by 17 July, the date for the planned two-plus-four meeting in Paris, both German states and the Polish People's Republic might find a solution that would give Poland the security essential for European stability.

Minister Meckel stressed that the Germans should not wait for the four victorious powers to tell them how the security of Poland's western border is to be guaranteed. The two ministers conducted an exchange of views on translating the proposal of the CSFR, Poland, and the GDR concerning the institutionalization of the CSCE process. Concerning this, Meckel will be speaking also with CSFR Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier.

Also on Tuesday, Markus Meckel conducted a conversation with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, the contents of which, however, have not yet been divulged. Meetings with colleagues Hans-Dietrich Genscher and Eduard Shevardnadze are planned.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND on Summit Outcome

LD0506095490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0217 GMT 5 Jun 90

["NEUES DEUTSCHLAND on Washington Summit"—ADN headline]

[Text] [No dateline as received] With the signing of more than a dozen agreements, the latest U.S.-Soviet summit was more fruitful than all its predecessors. President Bush and Gorbachev, who announced the end of the cold war more than six months ago off Malta, demonstrated their will to really put relations between the two superpowers on a new basis. The striving to use any weakness of the rival in order to gain advantage which dominated for decades, is increasingly giving way to a new understanding of common security.

...As a price for this, the Americans did not get Soviet agreement to NATO membership for the united Germany, and they probably did not demand it as an ultimatum.

...In the dispute about Germany, which dominated all other issues, the magic formula for a united Germany's alliance membership was not found, but movement is beginning to show in the hardened positions. The beginning of a solution could be the "all-European council" proposed by Gorbachev to negotiate the military aspects of German unity with direct U.S. participation.

Political imagination is required to fill the gap between the Soviet view and the U.S. version, at first, and above all from those immediately concerned: the two German governments.

U.S. Criticized for Vetoing UN Role in Israel

AU0506102390 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 2-3 Jun 90 p 2

[Lothar Pilz commentary: "Fatal Veto"]

[Text] At a time when the polarization in the Middle East is progressing and the fronts are hardening alarmingly, the United States took step in the wrong direction during Thursday night [31 May]. With its veto in the Security Council, it abolished a proposal which envisaged sending a UN commission to the West Bank and the Gaza strip. On the basis of knowledge about the situation, it was intended to work out proposals for the protection of the Palestinians in these territories, which have been occupied by Israel. Significantly, all other members of the Security Council, including the closest allies of the United States, supported the resolution, which was brought forward by the Arab states after the massacre by Rishon Letzion and which expressly demands intervention by the United Nations.

Now there is, of course, the question why Washington's representative said "no." Was the U.S. displeased that it was not its own idea to send an independent investigating body? Or was this a first reaction to the attempt by Palestinian guerillas to land on the coast at Tel Aviv? Many things indicate that the United States has once again yielded to the pressure of the Israeli Government, which immediately used this action by a splinter group to convince Washington that the dialogue with the entire PLO has to be ceased. If this happened, then the extremists on both sides—on the Palestinian and the Israeli side—have achieved their goal.

However, the population of the occupied Palestinian territories is not misled or discouraged by diplomatic maneuvers or terrorist attacks. They began in the month of June with a general strike. In particular, the leadership of the intifadah said, with the goal of giving emphasis to the demand for an international Middle East peace conference at the beginning of the meeting of Bush and Gorbachev in Washington.

De Maiziere Expounds on Unification Issues

AU0106202990 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 1 Jun 90 p 10

[Interview with Premier Lothar de Maiziere by Olaf Ihlau in East Berlin; date not given: "An Enormous Incision Must Come"]

[Text] [Ihlau] Independent of the political controversy over the State Treaty and the potential amendments, the uneasiness about the acceleration in the process of German unification is increasing among the FRG population, according to opinion polls.

[De Maiziere] It is correct that the initial euphoria has dissipated a bit and that now the problems connected with unification are seen. The fact that division is to be overcome by sharing is now becoming a widespread insight. This is not an artificial acceleration, rather the high speed is a result of the requirements, i.e. the necessity to quickly move toward clear market economy structures.

[Ihlau] Don't you fear that this fast pace overtaxes the people and might perhaps push them into a defensive attitude?

[De Maiziere] Months ago we said at a Presidium session of the Christian Democratic Union of Germany [CDU]: We want unity as quickly as possible, but it has to be as beneficial as is necessary. There must be enough time for us to settle and shape the necessary matters. We have to observe closely what will happen after 2 July as a result of the introduction of the monetary union. It may be that the development will then slow down somewhat because the people say: Now we have the new currency and it is summer. It may also be that everything will speed up considerably; that demands for collective agreements like those in the West will be made and that, for instance, the car builders of Eisenach will say: We only earn less than those in Wolfsburg because we do not yet have complete unity. Policy is obviously the art of the feasible and not of the absolutely desirable.

[Ihlau] What made the accelerated pace so absolutely necessary: the fear of a change in the overall political climate or the fear that the scope of the economic burdens might become clearer soon and have a deterring effect if the speed is slower?

[De Maiziere] I cannot be indifferent to the reaction that is building up in the FRG. Nevertheless, this must not be the overall basis of my actions, because I am obligated to the people who voted for me here. They want a clear change in their economic conditions. An enormous incision must come now, which will put an end to the uncertainties and doubts. We need the climate of a new start, a pioneering spirit, the capability to innovate, the overcoming of that which is the legacy of the past. In the past the future was always something that was described as a fact: "This is how it will be." Now the people see that the future is not something predetermined, that the performance of the individual is important, and that one is responsible for his own fate. And concerning the external aspect of the question: Our links with East Europe are part of the treasure which we bring to a united Germany.

[Ihlau] Oskar Lafontaine calls the introduction of the Deutsche mark in the GDR on 1 July an "eminently wrong decision," because it will lead to mass unemployment there. Estimates by economic experts speak of 1.5 to 4 million people who will be affected. Will the all-German euphoria be followed by the all-German hangover as soon as in autumn?

[De Maiziere] In the past the GDR's Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD] entered the election campaign with the slogan: We will have the monetary union by 1 July. At that time we still assumed that we might be able to pay for Christmas presents in Deutsche marks. Lafontaine's statements are part of a dual strategy which has been noticeable for months. After all, it was Mr. Lafontaine who demanded restrictive measures against resettlers and then recommended the establishment of a common currency. However, it has been recognized: If the Deutsche mark does not come to the people, the people will go to the Deutsche mark. Now we are following a new path, and this is not approved, either. It would be better to keep this question out of party political considerations. Be that as it may: The GDR SPD is in my coalition, and the decision on the State Treaty in the cabinet was unanimous.

[Ihlau] What will you do if mass unemployment comes and again drives masses of GDR citizens to the FRG?

[De Maiziere] I am not pessimistic in this respect. Of course we will have problems; it would be ridiculous to deny this. But we will not have long-term unemployment as in other countries. Whoever drives through this country sees that work is abundant. One just has to look at the houses and the city centers. We have allocated considerable amounts of money to infrastructural measures so that the public sector can also order road construction and similar things. Retraining measures have to be put into motion quickly. Most factory workers in the GDR are knowledgeable about construction anyway; they have gained experience in building weekend houses.

[Ihlau] Your GDR alliance and the Bonn union parties confirmed the adherence to the schedule for the State Treaty at the first joint parliamentary group session in the Reichstag building. However, obviously there remain considerable differences in opinion on other points. Bonn wants to set an all-German election date soon, sometime between 2 December and 13 January. You, however, refuse. Why?

[De Maiziere] At this session, our partners in the FRG did not make any clear statement on the election date, either. First, we have to get the State Treaty with the monetary union under way. This is an incredible legislative piece of work, and the people have to learn to deal with the new laws. Then we have to see how we negotiate on the necessary framework and transitional conditions, which facilitate accession via Article 23 of the Basic Law. There are some things that have to be discussed in this connection in the field of administration, the legal system, and the laender structure. It is also very important that we settle the external aspects of German unification in a satisfactory way. It would certainly not be good to coerce the negotiating partners in the two-plus-four process....

[Ihlau] ...which would happen if an all-German election date were set?

[De Maiziere] If one puts someone who advocates his interests under pressure of time and success, this is coercion. Thus, it will depend on how quickly we will be able to settle the material preconditions both for the internal and external aspects of German unification in a satisfactory way. Then I will not hesitate to say: Let us do it—as quickly as possible, but as well as is necessary. The past half year has shown us that any forecast of the schedule, made by whomever, has actually been wrong.

[Ihlau] You also do not want to approve the demand of the Christian Social Union to "immediately" establish "clarity" concerning the date of accession via Article 23 of the Basic Law.

[De Maiziere] This too would put the negotiations on the framework conditions of Article 23 under pressure of time. An enormous bunch of measures has to be decided. One must think very thoroughly about which transitional periods, which protective measures, and which financial and compensation issues are to be agreed on and are to be established. The large sphere of property regulations must be cleared up, and solutions must be found that do not endanger social peace. Simply saying: We declare accession via Article 23 and we will discuss the conditions afterwards—this is impossible for me. I am much too much of a lawyer for this.

[Ihlau] At the joint parliamentary group session there were also differences in opinion concerning the future security system for Europe. Do you share the opinion of your Defense Minister Eppelmann that Soviet troops have to stay in the GDR as long as U.S. units are deployed in the west of Germany?

[De Maiziere] The goal of a united Germany must be not to have any foreign troops on its territory at some time in the future. Whether they have to leave all at the same time is a completely different question. This touches upon the question of European security. For years we have said that the unity of Germany is linked with the unification of Europe. Now, obviously, since last autumn the one process has decoupled itself a bit in terms of time from the other. It is necessary, however, that both processes stay linked with each other so that the faster intra-German process does not lead to anxieties among our neighbors. It must serve as a catalyst for the process of European unification. Therefore, the development within the framework of the CSCE, perhaps its institutionalization, and the establishment of all-European models for settling quarrels are important tasks. In this respect, the Soviet negotiating partner is certainly asking about the future character of NATO, its future structures and strategies.

[Ihlau] Do you expect a signal in this respect from the current meeting between Bush and Gorbachev?

[De Maiziere] I expect a rather positive result. The German situation is putting all parties involved under pressure of success. One can see that this process cannot be stopped and is irreversible. Thus, we have to find a solution, and where there is a will there is a way.

[Ihlau] A purely political NATO membership like that of France, however, which Gorbachev now advocates, is hardly acceptable for Bonn.

[De Maiziere] Over the past months the Soviet side has offered a great number of models: neutrality, dual membership, associated status, and other forms. One does not quite know which version is favored just now. However, one should not overlook one thing: Moscow is willing to think about a transitional model.

[Ihlau] Do you see a danger in political or personnel changes in Moscow blocking the process of German unification?

[De Maiziere] Why do we only talk about dangers when something happens politically? Despite the huge economic problems, President Gorbachev is still highly respected by large sections of the Soviet people. The party congress early in July will be important. In any case, Mr. Gorbachev is a good partner for our German problems, and I hope that he will remain a good partner.

[Ihlau] The Soviet Union, which has received 40 percent of the GDR's exports, insists on continuity in trade relations. Will a trilateral agreement be signed by Moscow, East Berlin, and Bonn before monetary union becomes effective?

[De Maiziere] So far, nothing suggests that such an agreement will be signed. We were in Moscow before the negotiations on the State Treaty were held. In our talks with Gorbachev and Premier Ryzhkov, this specific Soviet interest played a role. We were able to convince them that we have the same interest because there are reliable customers for our products in Moscow. We have built guarantees into the State Treaty that this trade will be given the necessary protection of confidence because it is of essential economic and foreign political importance for us and the entire unification process. We will certainly have to consider in what way the existing contractual accords can be continued once we have achieved unity. However, it has also become clear in Moscow that these relations will no longer be agreed upon at state level, but between economic units, between the enterprises of both countries. [Ihlau] Regarding former Stasi [State Security Service] members, your Interior Minister Diestel is concerned about the existing "security situation" in the GDR. Are you also concerned?

[De Maiziere] No, he probably did not mean that they could join forces again and stage a putsch. The Stasi people who have been taken over by the Interior Ministry were not employed by Diestel, but by the Modrow government. Most of them are specialists for technical tasks, in other words, they are not former saboteurs or snoopers. We have a strange situation in our country: In the fall, the people took to the streets, shouting that the Stasi should work in production. Now nobody wants them. We also cannot accept the fact that a great many people do not have the slightest chance, not even if they were just cook or secretary or driver in the State Security Service. Guilt must be personalized; the idea of collective guilt has done too much harm.

[Ihlau] Is there an agreement with the concept of integrating some of the Stasi members which makes you keep Diestel as the interior minister, even though his own party, the German Social Union [DSU], has withdrawn its confidence in him?

[De Maiziere] The concept by which this problem will be solved was discussed in the cabinet for two weeks and was decided on 16 May. It is impossible to put it into practice within two weeks. I suppose that internal DSU problems play a role here, which have to do with Diestel as a person.

Finance Minister Romberg on State Treaty

AU3005112390 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 28 May 90 pp 110-112

[Interview with Finance Minister Walter Romberg by unidentified DER SPIEGEL reporter; place and date not given: "This Is Very Difficult to Slow Down"]

[Text] [DER SPIEGEL] Mr. Romberg, you have gone down in history as the one GDR citizen who has sealed the end of the GDR by signing the State Treaty....

[Romberg] ...this is not yet the end of the GDR. There remains a bit of sovereignty, which we should make use of. I understand myself as someone who helps to build a bridge to a new economic system.

[DER SPIEGEL] From 1 July onward, as of the coming into force of the treaty, you will only be Bonn's agent. What do you want to shape then as a politician?

[Romberg] The structural adjustment can be shaped, for instance. Think of the retail trade, which is no longer able to distribute goods in a sensible way. We must decentralize trade very quickly.

[DER SPIEGEL] For this you need time. You yourself were one of those who warned against too much haste in unification. Now things are taking place too hastily: A state treaty is negotiated within a few weeks, all-German elections are to take place by the end of the year, if Mr. Kohl has his way.

[Romberg] The election result of 18 March showed that the people in our country want the Deutsche mark very quickly. The pace is difficult to slow down. However, I insist: The more time, the better.

[DER SPIEGEL] All-German elections as early as 2 December, as the Bonn government wants, are not acceptable for you?

[Romberg] These elections should be postponed as far as possible into next year.

[DER SPIEGEL] Your social democratic friends in Bonn have difficulty with the State Treaty you signed. It is to be amended. Do you like this course?

[Romberg] I would like the Social Democrats in the FRG to adopt a position which is easier to explain to the GDR citizens.

[DER SPIEGEL] A strange situation has developed, in which the Social Democrats in the GDR think that they have achieved something good with this treaty and that those in the FRG say: This is not the way things work.

[Romberg] Of course, we support it if the Social Democrats in the FRG want to enforce amendments in certain areas. However, I am not happy if the impression arises that there are fundamental reservations against the State Treaty in the FRG's Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD]. I must say frankly that I did not hear any such specific questions about the State Treaty, which affect its basic principles, from the FRG's SPD before the signing of the treaty. This is a development of the past 8, 10 days.

[DER SPIEGEL] What can still be amended now?

[Romberg] The issue is achieving certain improvements in the surroundings of the treaty by means of protocol statements or in other forms. For instance, one can make sure that former State Security Service members are not favored by currency conversion; or that the assets of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism are not simply converted. This is, in fact, one of several problems that concern us.

[DER SPIEGEL] You yourself also provided a reason for some of the confusion shortly before signing the treaty. You did not provide important figures.

[Romberg] The reason for the irritations during the days before the conclusion of the State Treaty was that we did not make any binding statements about our budget deficit to our colleague Waigel, when he visited the GDR.

[DER SPIEGEL] Why were you not able to do this on that Monday?

[Romberg] Of course, we did have the figures....

[SPIEGEL] ...exactly.

[Romberg] We had them, but the entire process was not sufficiently advanced in the government. We have to build a budget under Deutsche-mark conditions. Something like this has not happened before. As a guideline, we had the expenditures which were made by the individual sectors during the past years. These figures we had to project to Deutsche mark under new conditions. We had to plan tax revenues under conditions which we do not know. Because we did not know what the economic development would be like after July. All this had to be coordinated in the Council of Ministers and all this had not yet happened on that Monday. Things were completed one day before the conclusion of the State Treaty.

[DER SPIEGEL] In the second half of 1990, when the monetary union will be in force, you expect a deficit of 33 billion marks. How certain is this figure?

[Romberg] This is a guideline. There is a rescue clause in the State Treaty: In an emergency the amount must be increased.

[DER SPIEGEL] You want to collect 31 billion marks in taxes. However, you do not have a tax law or financial administration. How should this be implemented?

[Romberg] This figure is also an estimate which was made on the basis of the expected economic development, turnover, and consumption. As regards tax administration: The people's training started some time ago. Meanwhile, a few hundred people have been trained or are being trained. They can be employed after the conversion on 2 July.

[DER SPIEGEL] Is the state still taking money in or did the GDR enterprises stop their contributions to the coffers of the state in East Berlin?

[Romberg] At present, the payments are completely insufficient, we are currently helping matters along. This even includes coercive debit transfers from the accounts of enterprises of which we know that they did not comply with their financial obligations. Now audits are also carried out on a larger scale in enterprises and combines.

[DER SPIEGEL] Will there be a sufficient number of enterprises after 2 July which will be able to contribute anything at all? You yourself said that at best 30 percent of the enterprises will be competitive.

[Romberg] I cannot guarantee that 30 percent will immediately and fully participate in the market. There will certainly be some enterprises that will not be able to last much longer. They also cannot pay any taxes.

[DER SPIEGEL] They need subsidies.

[Romberg] It would be rather pointless if we were to try to artifically keep them alive by subsidies.

[DER SPIEGEL] In the week before last it was reported that you raised a cash credit of more than 15 billion marks at the GDR State Bank. This was interpreted in the FRG as the GDR's quick dive into the cashbox before the monetary union. What was the background?

[Romberg] The FRG Government was briefed on this cash position. We pointed out in talks with Mr. Waigel that this credit would be raised. The background is a growing state budget deficit.

[DER SPIEGEL] Were you no longer solvent?

[Romberg] We were solvent, but an adequate framework is part of one's solvency.

[DER SPIEGEL] With this credit, the money supply will be increased shortly before the monetary union. The Bundesbank was much irritated by this, because 15 billion is not chickenfeed.

[Romberg] Fifteen billion is not chickenfeed.

[DER SPIEGEL] But it was necessary?

[Romberg] It was necessary.

[DER SPIEGEL] Do you have any idea what will really happen in the GDR after 1 July, how many people will be without work?

[Romberg] There will certainly be strong social tensions, which will also be expressed in public actions. It is hard to estimate the number of unemployed, but it will probably be a six-digit figure.

[DER SPIEGEL] Is it possible that the number of unemployed will have political consequences?

[Romberg] If the situation becomes very complicated—many politicians might reckon with this—the call to solve the problems by rapid unification might become very loud.

[DER SPIEGEL] An FRG paper wrote about you, Mr. Romberg, that you are "thin-skinned and permanently overburdened." Looking back on the past eight weeks, would you assume this office once again?

[Romberg] Maybe in the same situation. By the way, the quote you have mentioned is not completely wrong.

[DER SPIEGEL] When will Germany be completely unified? When will you be able to resign your post here?

[Romberg] This need not be the same date.

[DER SPIEGEL] Let us confine ourselves to the question: When will Germany be united?

[Romberg] I think that this will be implemented in the second half of next year.

Romberg To Coordinate Banking System Measures

LD0106192490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1230 GMT 1 Jun 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The government has authorized finance minister Romberg to make the coordinating measures necessary for the development of a loan system under market economic conditions, in line with the stipulations of the State Treaty on the monetary, banking, and stock exchange system. Inasmuch as legislation and decrees for GDR credit institutions are needed to adapt to the monetary union and laws which will then be applicable, the finance minister has the responsibility of making submissions to parliament. Finance Minister Dr. Walter Romberg (Social Democratic Party) [SPD] told ADN today [1 June] that he will execute the tasks assigned to him on the basis of the stipulations contained in the State Treaty on the establishment of the economic, monetary, and social union between the FRG and GDR. The structure of the banking system will be influenced in such a way that competition between private, cooperative, and public-law banks as well as a free monetary and capital market can be guaranteed in the GDR.

The required coordination with the competent authorities in the FRG, the FRG Bank, and the FRG Banking Supervisory Office, will be undertaken by the GDR Finance Ministry.

Asked about the future of the GDR State Bank, Romberg spoke in favor of a sensible and meaningful solution.

Pohl Predicts 'Social Unrest' After Union

LD0206081890 East Berlin ADN International Service in german 0015 GMT 2 Jun 90

[Text] Berlin (West) (ADN)—In the view of Economics Minister Gerhard Pohl (Christian Democratic Union), there will be social unrest in the GDR after economic, monetary, and social union comes into force. "I am reckoning with a hot autumn in the GDR. Even strikes cannot be ruled out," Pohl said in an interview with the BERLINER MORGENPOST (Saturday edition) [2 June]. The minister gave "the large number of employees who will have to leave their jobs, some of which they have come to love, or be retrained" as the reason. Unrest among the population can not be avoided under those circumstances.

At the same time, Pohl announced that the approximately two million state employees in the GDR will not gain established civil servant status. The Council of Ministers had decided this. "We intend to dismiss as many state employees as possible. They are to be given the opportunity of taking part in retraining courses and thus prepare themselves for the market economy. There will be such a shortage of qualified workers in the future GDR economy that they will all have the chance of building a new career."

Import Duty for Numerous Consumer Goods Planned

AU3005115690 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 30 May 90 p 31

["hen."-signed report: "GDR Wants to Levy Duties on Most Important Consumer Goods"]

[Excerpts] Bonn—The GDR Government wants to temporarily levy import duties of up to 11 percent of the value on most imported consumer goods. GDR Economics Minister Pohl, who confirmed this in Bonn on Tuesday [29 May], handed over to FRG Economics Minister Haussmann a list of imported goods on which duties are to be levied between 1 July 1990 and 31 March 1991. The list includes, among other things, table salt, cosmetics, washing agents, washing machines, and refrigerators. In a talk with journalists, Haussmann stressed that many people will find ways to evade this tax and spoke of an "autonomous decision by the GDR." [passage omitted]

According to information received by SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, the GDR Government wants to levy import duties of 11 percent until 31 December 1990 and of eight percent until 31 March 1991 on the following goods:

Foodstuffs and luxury food:

Rye bread and white bread (with the exception of special bread), pasta, beer, wine, sparkling wine, spirits, cocoa products, candies, and table salt.

Textiles, clothes, shoes, and leather goods:

Decorative materials, carpets, curtains, hosiery, knitwear, night clothes, t-shirts, bathing suits, sports wear, corsetry, ready-made clothes, clothes for infants, underwear, household linen, fur and leather clothes, walking shoes and sports shoes, and leather goods.

Chemical products used in households and cosmetic products:

Cosmetics, washing agents, health care products, hygiene articles for women, and varnish paints.

Other consumer goods:

Porcelain, glass, and ceramic products, bicycles, motorcycles, washing machines, household refrigerators, cutlery, enamel dishes, household appliances, and sewing machines.

More far-reaching proposals for import restriction are to be drafted for the following goods:

Meat, processed meat and sausages, including canned meat products, poultry and rabbits, milk and milk products, sugar and candy, honey, flower and paste products, grain and mixed fodder, starch products and processed potatoes, eggs and egg products, ice cream, fruit, vegetables and potatoes, including canned vegetables, fish from inland waters, as well as flowers, ornamental plants, and seeds. [passage omitted]

Government Commission on Stasi Dissolution Meets

LD3005181290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1440 GMT 30 May 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The newly formed government commission on the further dissolution of the former State Security Ministry (MfS) and Office of National Security (AFNS) state security organs is to submit by mid-July documentation on the SED's [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] influence on the Stasi. This analysis is also to shed light on the MfS's cooperation with the Soviet KGB and other East Bloc secret services, as well as the organization of conspiratorial activity of the MfS, it was announced at a news conference in Berlin.

A statement by the commission, which held its constituent session today [30 May], gives assurances that the primary aim is the complete clarification of all crimes by the former State Security and the final dissolution of all its structures. The members see themselves in their totality as a representative of the government and of all political forces and citizens who support democracy and the preservation of the dignity of mankind, and who do not want a wall of silence and mistrust to tear the people apart once again. The elaboration of this chapter in the GDR's most recent history demands courage for complete openness and honesty, the complete rehabilitation of the victims, and the punishment of the guilty according to principles under the rule of law, but not feelings of revenge.

The commission, headed by Interior Minister Dr. Peter-Michael Diestel, includes the writers Walter Janka and Stefan Heym, the lawyer Guenter Krone, the phycisist Dr. Michael Kummer, the jurisprudence expert Dr. Manfred Muehlmann, the Caritas director Helmut Puschmann and senior councillor of the consistory Ulrich Schroeter.

Eppelmann on Future of Bundeswehr, NVA

AU0506101990 Hamburg BILD in German 2 Jun 90 p 2

[Interview with Disarmament and Defense Minister Rainer Eppelmann by Peter Brinkmann; place and date not given: "Only One Alliance for All of Europe"]

[Text] [Brinkmann] The summit in Washington. How do you see the future of the Bundeswehr and the National People's Army [NVA]?

[Eppelmann] For the period between the day of unity and the day when a European security system comes into force, there will have to be two German Armies.

[Brinkmann] The Bundeswehr in NATO, the NVA nonaligned?

[Eppelmann] Yes. Anything else could not be enforced, also not in political terms.

[Brinkmann] What is Moscow's view in this respect?

[Eppelmann] I have gotten the impression that they are thinking things over.

[Brinkmann] Which version do you prefer?

[Eppelmann] I like a second possibility even more. One Army in both alliances. This would work only if both alliances were to decide under international law on a general and fundamental renunciation of the use of force—that is, to decide never to attack each other. This would give rise to the question: Why do they both still exist? They could actually merge.

[Brinkmann] Thus, the Soviet Union in a new European alliance system?

[Eppelmann] This would certainly be conceivable. It would have to be a new, all-European system.

State President Position Said To Be Unlikely

LD0406151690 Hamburg DPA in German 1416 GMT 4 Jun 90

[Excerpt] East Berlin (DPA)—It is no longer expected that there will be a GDR state president. This was confirmed to DPA today [4 June] by government sources in East Berlin. After Gottfried Forck, bishop of Berlin-Brandenburg, declined to make himself available for the position and, above all, with German unification drawing closer, the GDR Government does not see the need for filling the post of state president.

It also was said that government and party circles assume People's Chamber President Sabine Bergmann-Pohl (CDU) [Christian Democratic Union] could remain acting GDR head of state until unification. She soon will travel to Italy in this capacity.

CDU General Secretary Martin Kirchner, in replying to a question on whether his party was not planning to propose or bring into the discussion a new candidate, said: "In view of the early unification goal, I no longer think it appropriate to appoint a state president. There is no need to look for a state president." [passage omitted]

Diestel on DSU, CSU Cooperation

LD0206212990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1937 GMT 2 Jun 90

[Excerpts] Leipzig (ADN)—The German Social Union [DSU] and Christian Social Union [CSU] are sister parties, something which must be made still clearer in the future than has been the case previously. This is how CSU chairman Dr. Theo Waigel commented on today's five-year deliberations with the national executive of the DSU in Leipzig. As far as organization is concerned, the DSU will be active on GDR territory, but in close partnership with the CSU. [passage omitted]

After the departure of the guests from Munich, the acting DSU chairman, Dr. Hubertus Nowack, read to journalists a communique signed by him, by People's Chamber group chairman Prof. Dr. Hans-Joachim Walther and Interior Minister Dr. Peter-Michael Diestel. The communique states that important issues of party and parliamentary group policy had been discussed at length.

Personal differences between members of the People's Chamber group had been ironed out. The program concerning domestic issues had been presented and cursorily discussed by Dr. Diestel. This discussion would be completed in the People's Chamber group next week. Interior Minister Dr. Diestel had promised to develop in the future the basic principles of his domestic policy in close and trustful cooperation with the group. On this basis, group chairman Prof. Dr. Walther saw preconditions for beneficial cooperation.

Before today's talks, Dr. Hubertus Nowack and Theo Waigel had said that the most important concern of the meeting would be to overcome irritations and to find a common way leading ahead. "We are interested in turning the DSU into a strong and powerful party so that, together with the CSU as its sister party, it will be able to stand up to the challenges of the future," he [as received] said. [passage omitted]

Jeszenszky on New Security System for Europe

*PM3005143690 Madrid ABC in Spanish
25 May 90 p 32*

[Interview with Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky by Agnes Koroncz; place and date not given]

[Excerpt] Budapest—[passage omitted] [Koroncz] Looking at your relations with neighboring countries, the biggest problem is undoubtedly relations with Romania. What plans do you have to alleviate the tension resulting from the repression of the 2 million Hungarians in Transylvania?

[Jeszenszky] This is up to both sides. The important thing is for our position to be entirely consistent with European laws. If we abide by them, we can demand the same of our neighbors. Romania wants to become a European country and not to return to the Ceausescu dictatorship. It is necessary to recognize that minorities exist and that they have a right to preserve their culture ties with the motherland—in this instance with Hungary. Furthermore, I believe that certain clarifications will be necessary in Romania. This happened in Germany after the war [WWII], when the significance of Nazism was explained to the Germans. In Romania the people should be told about the real nature of the Ceausescu dictatorship. Perhaps western social organizations could help in this.

[Koroncz] Speaking to the parliamentary committee you mentioned that throughout its history Hungary has been forced to strike balances between the major powers. Do you believe that stability will be achieved now, or will the country have to continue with these balances, because of its geographical position and its size?

[Jeszenszky] If we look back over Hungarian history we see that we now have much greater scope than before. We are sometimes pessimistic, but the international situation has changed greatly now in our favor. Above all, there has been a change in the attitude of the Soviet Union, which is seeking its own path and wants changes at all costs. We can, and must, take this opportunity provided by the new Soviet attitude.

[Koroncz] You have said in this connection that Hungary's sovereignty is not yet complete. Were you referring only to the presence of Soviet troops or to something more?

[Jeszenszky] I am referring to Soviet troops. The presence of foreign troops itself does not challenge the country's sovereignty if they are there with the agreement of an elected government. But this is not Hungary's wish. Our sovereignty will only be complete after the Soviet troops' complete withdrawal and when we can say which security system we want to be in.

[Koroncz] How will Hungarian-Soviet relations continue in this new historic situation?

[Jeszenszky] We want to maintain a correct and reasonable stance. If a country has internationally accepted guarantees, if a situation is solid, then it is difficult to change it. Even at the worst moments of the cold war between West Europe and the Soviet Union both sides respected a certain status quo. Now there is about to emerge a status quo that is acceptable to all the sides concerned and that provides us with guarantees.

[Koroncz] Some weeks ago the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] called for Hungary's immediate exit from the Warsaw Pact, which surprised even the Democratic Forum. What is your opinion on this matter?

[Jeszenszky] We agree with the basic aim. Previously the SZDSZ did not want to demand an immediate exit from the Pact either. I believe it was a step that serves certain partisan interests. We now have a good chance of achieving this aim. A new security system must be created with the participation of all the European powers, which will mutually guarantee each other's territorial integrity. The Warsaw Pact always stated that it was defensive in character. In NATO's case this is unquestionable. I am not saying that NATO must cease to exist: This is up to its member states. Similarly, the Warsaw Pact will endure as long as its members so desire. At the same time, however, it would be possible to create an alliance comprising all 35 countries—a pact that is not a military system.

Speaks on Magyars Abroad

*LD3005125690 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1000 GMT 30 May 90*

[Text] [Announcer] The new foreign minister, Geza Jeszenszky, received foreign journalists at 1000 today [30 May]. Istvan Kulcsar reports:

[Kulcsar] In his introduction the minister emphasized the continuity of Hungarian foreign policy. He praised the positive foreign policy of the previous government in the past 1.5-2 years and said that the new government can pursue this with greater sincerity. The aim is a reorientation from East to West, which does not in the slightest mean that the government will underrate the significance of relations linked to the Soviet Union and our other neighbors.

The most sensitive point of relations between Hungary and its neighbors is the issue of the 3.5 million Magyars living beyond Hungarian borders. A new element here is that these minorities now have their own organizations, parliamentary representation, so now it does not have to be Hungary that speaks instead of the repressed minorities. Morally, it is our duty to give them support.

Speaking about our membership in the Warsaw Pact, Jeszenszky stated that Hungary never chose this of its own free will. He declared that Hungary wishes to hold negotiations with all concerned parties about leaving and wants to reach an agreement taking into account the security interests of the Soviet Union and others.

Replying to a question, the Hungarian foreign minister denied that he has refrained in principle from a meeting with his Romanian counterpart. Because he did not desire a public failure, he did not deem the present moment to be suitable for holding this meeting.

A journalist asked whether it is likely that President Gorbachev, in keeping with tradition, will personally brief the leaders of the Warsaw Pact member states on the U.S.-Soviet summit meeting which begins today. In his reply Geza Jeszenszky did not rule out this possibility.

Jeszenszky Offers Budapest for Superpower Summit

LD0506090190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0800 GMT 5 Jun 90

[Text] The human and minority rights conference, in which the 35 states participating in the Helsinki process are represented at the foreign minister level, will begin in Denmark this morning [5 June]. The Hungarian delegation is headed by Geza Jeszenszky. The participants also will use the meeting to prepare the Paris summit meeting of the heads of state of the 35 countries, planned for the end of the year. In a statement to MAGYAR HIRLAP before the meeting, Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky welcomed the idea that Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush still want to meet several times this year. The head of Hungarian diplomacy proposed Budapest as one of the venues.

Soviet Troops Vacate Veszprem Barracks

LD0406182690 Budapest MTI in English 1741 GMT 4 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 4 (MTI)—The armoured regiment of guards that was stationed in Veszprem to date, have vacated the barracks. The 49 buildings of the huge barracks complex are now empty.

On Monday, the command of the Soviet Southern Army Group invited the military attaches accredited to Budapest, and journalists, to inspect the empty barracks.

The symbolic key of the group of buildings was received by Laszlo Horvath, the deputy chairman of the City Council of Veszprem. Mr. Horvath expressed his thanks that the buildings were left in a clean manner, and in order.

Engineer Lieutenant-Colonel Janos Szonyi, deputy chief director of upkeep and accommodations of the Hungarian Army, said the condition of the Veszprem barracks is better than the average of the Soviet barracks emptied so far, however, much will have to be spent on the buildings before utilization.

Colonel-General Matvei Burlakov, commander of the Southern Army Group, announced that the pace of Soviet troops withdrawals accords to the coordinated plans. To date, 204 military trains, carrying more than 10,000 Soviet citizens and 2,500 various battle means, have left the area of Hungary. The Veszprem barracks are the 6th to be vacated by Soviet troops.

Political Parties Affirm Trianon Treaty

LD3105231290 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 31 May 90

[Text] The parties represented in the Hungarian National Assembly have declared in a statement that they consider the present borders to be realistic. They made this announcement on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the signing of the Trianon Peace Treaty. The announcement stresses that the borders that have been created, irrespective of their being just or unjust, are determinants of present European stability. Precisely for this reason, the six parliamentary parties, in accordance with the commitments undertaken in the Helsinki Final Act, affirm the ban on changing the borders. At the same time Hungary expects, with regard to Magyardom beyond our borders, the full-scale guarantee of individual and collective minority rights.

Delegation Visits Slovakia To Ease Tension

LD0206155990 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 2 Jun 90

[Excerpt] It seems that the dispute between Hungary and Czechoslovakia about the Magyars in Slovakia is increasing. This conflict situation is in neither country's interest and the fact that the new state secretary for the Foreign Affairs Ministry, [Katona], travels to Lucenec today [2 June] may be seen as recognition of this. Jozsef Laszlo has interviwed Mr. Katona, who is accompanied by several parliamentary deputies.

[Begin recording] [Katona] The occasion is the Lukenec culture camp organized annually by CEMADOK, the Cultural Association of Hungarians living in Czechoslovakia, which is traditionally well attended and highly successful. Representatives of the Turoczszentmarton Matica Slovenska are also expected to be present, and we felt we should seize the opportunity to demonstrate that we would like to see the easing of tensions between Hungary and Slovakia in a really European way. We would like to launch an offensive. What we would like is for the Matica members, who are worried about the identity of Slovaks in Hungary, to send as many books and teachers as they can. What is more, we in fact demand from them and not only ask them to do so with the proviso that they too should understand that we should like to do the same.

[Laszlo] Could this visit be perceived in Slovakia as a kind of interference with the election campaign just before the elections?

[Katona] Under no circumstances will we interfere in this issue; only to the extent that we have touched upon it during the election campaign in Hungary, too. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Hungarian Demonstration Called Off in Timisoara

LD0206195190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1900 GMT 2 Jun 90

[Text] The Bansag Democratic Union of Magyars has organized peace guards at the Hungarian-Romanian border. Members of the organization at the Nagylak and Gyula border-crossings have asked tourists arriving from Hungary not to take part in the event the Transylvanian World Association called for Timisoara, on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the signing of the Trianon peace treaty. In the meantime, under the impact of condemnations from the Democratic Union of Magyars in Romania and Hungarian organs, the World Association has called off the gathering in Timisoara. It was in spite of this that the peace guards were organized, so there should be no provocations.

Borsits-Led Delegation Returns From Pact

LD0206182290 Budapest MTI in English 1738 GMT 2 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 2 (MTI)—The Hungarian delegation which had attended the Moscow consultation of the chiefs-of-staff of the Warsaw Treaty member states under the leadership of Lieutenant General Laszlo Borsits, chief-of-staff of the Hungarian Army, returned to Budapest on Saturday [2 June]. The consultation was also attended by representatives of the foreign ministries of the member states.

The participants discussed the issue of conventional arms reduction in Europe, and the items featuring on the agenda of the Vienna talks on confidence- and security-building measures.

The consultation was characterised by an atmosphere of objectivity and mutual goodwill.

The participants committed themselves to the successful completion of the Vienna talks this year, and, to this effect, exchanged views on the fundamental positions to be adopted in the future.

Austria's Mock Meets SZDSZ Officials

LD0206212190 Budapest MTI in English 1902 GMT 2 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 2 (MTI)—Alois Mock, Austrian foreign minister, and Andreas Khol, deputy head of the parliamentary group of the Austrian People's Party (OVP), paid a visit to the Budapest headquarters of the Alliance of Free Democrats (AFD) [SZDSZ] on Saturday [2 June].

The Austrian politicians met Istvan Szent-Ivanyi, head of the AFD Foreign Affairs Committee, Marton Tardos, head of the AFD Economic Committee, and several members of the Foreign Affairs Committee.

The sides discussed the situation of national minorities, and issues related to the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros water barrage and the Vienna-Budapest world expo.

Concerning the latter topic, the AFD politicians expressed anxieties. In contrast, the Austrian foreign minister laid emphasis on the advantages, spoke about the infrastructure and investment projects related to the world expo, and stressed that the world expo would offer a favourable opportunity for opening towards Europe.

Finland's Holkeri Arrives on Official Visit

LD0406142690 Budapest MTI in English 1241 GMT 4 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 4 (MTI)—Harri Holkeri, prime minister of the Republic of Finland, arrived for a three-day official visit to Hungary on Monday [4 June], at the invitation of his Hungarian counterpart, Jozsef Antall. Mr. Holkeri is also accompanied by his wife, Marja-Liisa Holkeri.

The Finnish guest and his entourage was received at Ferihegy airport by Ferenc Somogyi, state secretary of foreign affairs. The guests were subsequently driven to Mr Holkeri's residence.

The official welcoming ceremony of the Finnish prime minister will take place in front of the parliament building on Kossuth Lajos Square in the early afternoon hours, according to the recently simplified rules of protocol.

Meets Antall

LD0406152590 Budapest MTI in English 1426 GMT 4 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 4 (MTI)—A welcoming ceremony was held on Monday afternoon [4 June] in front of the parliament building by Hungarian Premier Jozsef Antall and his wife, in honour of Finnish prime minister, Harri Holkeri and his wife, who arrived for a three-day official visit on Monday. Mr. Holkeri is the first premier to visit Hungary since the new government took office.

The official programme of the visit started with a tete-a-tete discussion of the two premiers.

Signs Loan Agreement

LD0406181790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 4 Jun 90

[Agota Narancsik report]

[Text] Finland has been one of the first to offer material support for the transformation of the Hungarian economy. Therefore, it is perfectly natural that one of the first tasks in the visit to Budapest by Finnish Prime Minister Harri Holkeri, was to sign the minutes of a 100 million dollar Finnish-Hungarian credit agreement. Premier Holkeri arrived in Hungary for a three-day official visit, to foster the traditionally close Finnish-Hungarian relations. In the course of his stay in Budapest, he will meet the leaders of Hungarian political life, he will visit Kecskemet and Bugac, and he will acquaint himself with some successfully operating Hungarian ventures.

In the course of the afternoon, apart from signing the credit agreement, the Finnish premier held tete-a-tete discussions with Premier Jozsef Antall, and then, heading the Finnish delegation, he took part in plenary talks in parliament building's Delegation Hall. The following were surveyed at the meeting: the Hungarian Government's stabilization program, the international situation which had developed in the wake of the central-East European changes, and the possibilities for developing bilateral relations.

After this, Harri Holkeri was received by Gyorgy Szabad, acting speaker of the National Assembly, with whom he held talks on the two countries' parliamentary relations and the National Assembly delegations' mutual visits scheduled for the near future.

The Finnish premier came to Budapest to acquaint himself with the new Hungary. We Hungarians, perhaps, can acquaint ourselves with Finland—that is, with how a small people, which in many aspects has endowments similar to those of our country, which was torn apart by wars and occupied by foreign power for centuries, can turn into an independent, prospering, rich country in the shadow of a large power.

Meets With Antall, Szabad

*LD0406212490 Budapest MTI in English
2001 GMT 4 Jun 90*

[Text] Budapest, June 4 (MTI)—The Hungarian and the Finnish prime ministers held talks in Budapest. In the course of these, Finnish Prime Minister Harri Holkeri invited Jozsef Antall for a visit to Finland. Mr. Antall accepted the invitation.

Talks between the two delegations were held afterwards. Government Spokesman Balazs Laszlo reported on this meeting.

Discussing German unification, both prime ministers were of the opinion that, just as in the case of other peoples, the German people have the right to self-determination as well.

Regarding economic issues, Mr. Antall noted Hungary alike wishes to establish close relations with the European Economic Community and the European Free Trade Association (EFTA). He asked his Finnish colleague to lend further support to this latter goal.

Mr. Holkeri said the nearing of Finland and EFTA towards the EEC, their efforts to create a common European Economic region are not aimed against the interests of the Central-Eastern European countries.

Both prime ministers were of the opinion that relations between the two countries are developing well, and trade turnover can be multiplied within a very short time. They stressed that the Finnish loan of 100 million dollars, the inter-governmental protocol of which was signed following the discussions, can lend a new impetus to contacts. Hungary considers the relations Finland has created with the Soviet Union to be of a model value, although acknowledging those cannot be copied.

Following the prime ministerial talks, Gyorgy Szabad, acting speaker of parliament, received Finish Prime Minister Harri Holkeri.

In the evening hours, Prime Minister Jozsef Antall and his wife hosted a gala dinner in honour of Harri Holkeri and his wife, in parliament building.

Present at the dinner were many leading figures of political, economic and cultural life. The two prime ministers delivered toasts.

Banquet Toasts Offered

*LD0406212590 Budapest MTI in English
2020 GMT 4 Jun 90*

[Text] Budapest, June 4 (MTI)—'My government professes European values and principles,' Prime Minister Jozsef Antall said in his toast. 'Implementing the radical economic turn, and creating a social market economy are the tasks of this government. The central elements of the short-term action programme are firm anti-inflation measures, and the enlivening of ventures.

'Alongside fulfilling our payments obligations at all times, we wish to halt our external indebtedness. A strong forint, the re-evaluation of the role of the state, the forcing back of state intervention, enlivening competition, socially controlled privatization, capital market—this is the road we hold as passable for economic advance.

'We count on the active participation of our foreign partners in realizing this programme. The acceleration and simplification of setting up banks and joint ventures, an improving infrastructural supply, and tax benefits imply the short-term programme of involving foreign capital.'

Mr. Antall voiced his conviction that, in the wake of changes taking place in Hungary, the Hungarian-Finnish system of relations, in which friendship and an awareness of kindship are deeply rooted, will intensify and cooperation will become more efficient. Our traditionally good parnership relation in the Helsinki process can also be intensified by developing bilateral cooperation,' he said. [no open quotation mark as received]

Mr. Holkeri also noted that the profound change which now took place in Hungary offers far better opportunities than before to develop Finnish-Hungarian cooperation in the political, economic and cultural fields.

He said the joint ventures can open new perspectives in commercial cooperation, which the Finnish side wishes to support. He termed the seeking of credit solutions suitable for both sides to be important in the interest of developing joint investment projects.

According to Mr. Holkeri, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe offers the best possibilities for building a new Europe, security and cooperation. To promote negotiations and the maintenance of contacts, he recommended that the preparatory talks of the follow-up meeting scheduled for 1992 be held in Helsinki next year.

Mr. Holkeri also said the tensions which can appear in a new form among the peoples should be regulated. 'We should work to eliminate the problems of the national minorities, and to find lasting solutions. We shall not forget that several Finno-Ugric peoples, or parts of these, live in the situation of minorities,' Mr. Holkeri said.

Trade Minister Kadar on Economic Prospects

AU3105081690 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 24 May 90 p 8

[Interview with International Economic Relations Minister Bela Kadar by Zsuzsa Gal; place and date not given: "There Is No Recipe for Ideal Government—Bela Kadar on Foreign Economic Relations in the Nineties"; first paragraph is NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Excerpts] Until recently, Bela Kadar has been more known abroad than in Hungary. The new minister, who regards himself as a world economist; who also taught at the Lorant Eotvos Science University; and who became member, head of a department, and then director of the Institute of World Economic Research of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, lectured more frequently at international conferences and at European and Latin-American universities. Consequently, his publications, reflecting his own independent apolitical ideas, are also more known and read abroad. When he received me as minister-designate, but still in his office of the director of the Institute of Planned Economy, I tried to learn how an independent thinker can adjust to the government bureaucracy, rather than his plans as a government member.

[Gal] How will your scientific concepts adjust, or confront, the totally different practice of ministerial activity?

[Kadar] I could make some kind of declaration of intentions here, but one cannot go too far with this. Practice will answer your question. In any case, my idea is that it helps if the minister in question spent a few decades observing the government practice in other countries and what negative or positive lessons can be drawn from this, because this helps, at least, to reduce the number of possible incorrect actions and decisions made in those countries. Therefore, it helps if one has some ideas on how we should govern, or how we should have governed, if one at least presumes what road one should not embark on, and what guiding techniques proved to be correct and what techniques failed.

At the same time, I do not think even for a moment that everything will change suddenly after receiving such an honorable mission. There are always noble bursts of activity in the course of one's life, and then either one succeeds in improving things or one's possibilities of improving things are only meager. I would not be able to come up with any recipe on the ideal government in Hungary today. [passage omitted]

[Gal] You are an independent representative on the list of new ministers; so you do not represent any political party. As far as I know, you did not join any group of economists.

[Kadar] Some 20 or 30 years ago, I also knew what we should do for quick results, but I greatly preferred the free expression of my opinion. Therefore, I never joined any party or grouping. I always maintain my opinions even in a minority position, irrespective of the fashion at the time.

[Gal] Does that mean that you also distance yourself from politics?

[Kadar] There are certain areas in politics in which I am interested. Although it interested me intellectually, domestic policy cannot fascinate me.

[Gal] Let us deal with the government tasks. As you have already stated, you are organizing a ministry that will cover the whole issue of international economic relations, including the transfer of capital and tourism. What are your concepts in connection with this?

[Kadar] It is characteristic of the new growth of modern national economies that services are developing quicker than the production and marketing of goods. This can also be seen in international economic relations. While services made up 10-15 percent of world trade in the sixties, today they constitute 27-28 percent. On the other hand, small countries are generally lagging behind in industrial mass production, and therefore, their international trade is generally not balanced. These countries balance their trade deficit partially by the export of services. Ten or twenty years ago, it was an acceptable luxury that Hungary had neither a strategic concept nor a governmental framework for this, but this can no longer continue. The time has come to make changes. [passage omitted]

[Gal] The debate on whether we need a foreign ministry and a foreign trade representation simultaneously in partner countries strongly affects your ministry. What is your opinion on this?

[Kadar] Such parallelism exists in the whole of the government system. In a dictatorship, the central power is afraid of providing independence to individual subordinate areas, and therefore, these areas supervise each other. This can be found in the Army as well as in the secret services, particularly in the organizations that can be dangerous to the central power. The Foreign Ministry provided the framework for some Hungarian foreign representations, and the Foreign Trade Ministry provided a framework for other Hungarian foreign representations. This made it impossible for the Hungarian foreign representations to take a united stand, and often led to a situation in which the competitors discredited Hungary abroad.

[Gal] What can be done? Which ministry will be the greater fish? The one which eats the smaller one?

[Kadar] One should not make this an issue of prestige. We must represent Hungary, and we can decide on the form to be used in each country. [passage omitted]

Party Officials on Handling of Secret Documents

AU3105084390 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 24 May 90 p 4

[Interview with National Security Committee head Gabor Demszky, of the Alliance of Free Democrats, and Interior Minister Balazs Horvath, of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, by Zoltan Lovas; place and date not given: "File Bombs"; first paragraph is MAGYAR HIRLAP introduction]

[Text] A strange situation has arisen in which the outgoing government is handing over super-secret documents to the new government forces. An even more interesting thing is that some party politicians who have not yet taken up their government posts have the opportunity to learn about strictly secret affairs. However, the fact that these politicians are also making statements based on these documents is strange only in comparison with the previous practice; like, this time, Gabor Demszky and Balazs Horvath. Well, what about the files at the Interior Ministry?

[Lovas] Allegedly, there are 62,000 files in the Interior Ministry, files that contain secret information. Is that true?

[Demszky] According to our information, the data processing department of the Ministry of Interior is handling some 62,000 files, and we must decide on the fate of these files. Several questions arise here. One of these questions is that, obviously, some of these files contain information gathered in violation of the privacy rights.

[Lovas] About what and whom are these files?

[Demszky] They contain various materials and documents. I do no yet know exactly.... I have not yet been at this department, and I only have information from the National Security Office. Interior minister designate Balazs Horvath has confirmed this. It can also happen that these files contain various provocative materials and documents. We are sitting on a possible political time bomb. We should decide on the fate of these files. I have heard that Mr. Horvath has various ideas about this which he wants to discuss with the interim president of the Republic. The biggest problem in connection with these files could be their authenticity. The National Security Committee is of the opinion that these materials should be sorted out and stored for 5 to 10 years. The Committee has not yet decided on the matter, as this problem arose at our latest meeting. We should know what kind of materials these are. I imagine that the Committee will hear Balazs Horvath on this matter.

[Balazs] Considering Gabor Demszky's statement, I clearly asked State Secretary Zoltan Gal for clarification. He said that he had been informed that every document connected with the former Interior Ministry Department III/III had been erased from the computer. Mr. Gal had previously ordered this. Mr. Gal believes that this has already been done and he told me that, if I like, I can ask computer specialists to verify this. Besides, this is being done.

[Lovas] There could be a lot of things in those 62,000 files, not only information about people under surveillance, but also people who carried out the surveillance, as well as disinformation material. It is possible that proper defense and research, rather than erasing this material, would be the proper solution....

[Balazs] I have ideas about all these things, but these ideas would require government, as well as interparty decisions. Disinformation could be a time bomb that could destroy human lives and careers. I have serious reservations about publication of such information. Is it advisable to make such documents public? Not just now, but also in the near future, if these documents still exist either in the computers or in the old files. The most proper way to deal with them would be to store them in an absolutely secure place for a long time.

[Lovas] What about the research?

[Balazs] Who could examine these documents from this viewpoint in a professional and authentic way? I am not only talking about the persons carrying out such an investigation, but also about the body in charge of this investigation. Naturally, all I know is what I have been told by Mr. Gal. If such documents exist, it would be fatal to let strangers close to them, because serious political interests would already motivate any step there.

[Lovas] Would it not be worthwhile contacting the GDR and CSFR experts who are in a similar situation?

[Balazs] The changes in the GDR were so sudden that everything really got into the streets. However, there was a precise and well-organized FRG counterintelligence behind all this, as well as a stable FRG economy that is able to make the various personal effects acceptable. My reservations concern the fact that we are living alone in an isolated way and that such a thing might have consequences for both our domestic policy and our foreign policy. The matter is too complex for me to decide alone. Nor do I want to decide alone. Although the government is competent to decide alone, it would nevertheless be advisable to include the opposition parties in the matter.

Labor Affairs Minister on Reorganization, Prospects

AU3105090990 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 29 May 90 p 5

[Interview with Labor Affair Minister Sandor Gyorivanyi by Agnes Marvanyi; place and date not given: "Uncertain Information About the Unemployed"; first paragraph is MAGYAR HIRLAP introduction]

[Excerpts] Just like all his colleagues, Sandor Gyorivanyi's main task today is to organize his own ministry. The new ministry—it has to be set up in 120 days—will also have to integrate areas which were previously not controlled and supervised by the State Office for Wages and Labor Affairs, the predecessor of the current Labor Affairs Ministry. Our reporter interviewed Sandor Gyorivanyi about his concepts of reorganization and program formulation.

[Marvanyi] Will you prepare for solving the new tasks with the old staff of the State Office for Wages and Labor Affairs, or with a new staff? Can the employees expect dismissals and changes in personnel?

[Gyorivanyi] Except for those who asked for release and retirement by their own will—like the former chairman and deputy chairman of the Office—nobody will have to go from the ministry. However, I told my staff that I could not guarantee that everyone would remain in the same position in the slowly emerging new organization. [passage omitted]

[Marvanyi] Labor affairs became a ministry precisely at a time when, finally, the system of central regulations is losing ground. Will this not lead to a renewed increase in the dictatorial spirit and will the ministry try to directly interfere in the employment affairs of the enterprises?

[Gyorivanyi] Not at all. On the contrary: Our task will be to dismantle the current rigid and bureaucratic system. For example, the World Bank also regarded it as a condition for financial aid to do away with the rigid system; for example, our professional training system should also be more flexible. It is useless to train a grocer for three years to be able to trade in vegetables. [passage omitted]

[Marvanyi] It seems that you will be in a rather schizophrenic situation at the Labor Affairs Ministry for a while. On the one hand, you will have to struggle against unemployment—that is, you will have to preserve jobs—while, on the other hand, restructuring is automatically accompanied by reduction of jobs. Without an efficient system of interest coordination, it is highly possible that employment and wage tensions might "make it out to the streets" and turn into political dissatisfaction. What means could the ministry employ in order to defend itself from such a danger?

[Gyorivanyi] We must work out a quick and efficient information system, because, in my view, we do not have really trustworthy information on employment issues. In the last three days alone, I heard four different variations of the number of unemployed persons in Hungary, from 15,000 to 100,000. If we have a quick and efficient information system, we will be able to interfere and take measures immediately. [passage omitted]

[Marvanyi] It seems that a modern employment policy that is able to adjust to a constantly mobile market economy can only emerge in Hungary with foreign help. What support can we count on, and when will the results be discernible at long last?

[Gyorivanyi] We can count on the help of almost all the developed capitalist countries. The three retraining centers to be set up by September this year will be established with the professional and technical support of FRG, U.S. and Irish colleagues. [passage omitted]

Welfare Minister Laszlo Surjan on Tasks

AU0106143190 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 31 May 90 p 5

[Report on interview with Welfare Minister Laszlo Surjan by Maria Lukacs; place and date not given: "The Goal Is To Improve Things"]

[Excerpts] As its name implies, the Welfare Ministry is not to be envied. The area it covers, burdened by considerable numbers of health care and social problems, provides the ministry with a lot of tasks. We interviewed Laszlo Surjan about these tasks.

[Lukacs] What do you regard as your primary task in halting the decrease in the level of health care in Hungary?

[Surjan] I consider the idea of the primary task in such a complex area to be slightly exaggerated. Where should we start? With social policy? Health care? Education? Let us start perhaps with health care, in which I regard it as a primary task to reorganize the social security system. This also involves social policy aspects, because if we succeed in creating a financing system adjusted to performance, a system that would remunerate the physicians according to their real work and in which the patients would know that the physicians are properly paid for providing treatment, the issue of gratitude money will also change. I welcomed my physician colleagues' hope that this would be solved somehow. The patients are suffering in the current situation, and the situation is far from rosy for the physicians, too. [passage omitted]

[Lukacs] A lot is said nowadays about the reorganization of the social security system. Is this connected with the comprehensive concept of solving the crisis, a concept currently on the agenda? What do you mean by this concept?

[Surjan] Tell me one area that can be regarded as free of crisis today. I think we are living in a complex crisis situation today. Take the social security system, which includes the sick, pensions, and the obligations deriving from work accidents and employment diseases. The social security contributions are proportionate to wages, and every Hungarian citizen equally pays his contributions. [passage omitted]

[Lukacs] At the parliamentary hearing, you came up with the honorable decision to increase pensions that fall below the subsistence level. Can this be done?

[Surjan] According to my information so far, it can. However, the first step is to come up with a subsistence level that can be taken seriously. I do not want to question the current evaluations of subsistence level, but I think that people affected by this should also be aware of the principles on the basis of which we regard now a certain sum as a subsistence level. In other words, I would like to set up a cooperating group, or an ad-hoc committee on the matter, including experts of the Central Statistical Office, various groups of sociologists, and family advisory centers. The trade unions should also be involved. [passage omitted]

[Lukacs] Back to the comprehensive concept of solving the crisis. Does this basically mean social security measures?

[Surjan] In my view, comprehensive concepts also mean comprehensive social problems, a range of problems that cannot always be solved by financial means. We also need a thorough change in attitude, but this cannot be achieved through orders or regulations. We must change the atmosphere into one in which all of us feel at home. Naturally, this does not only refer to welfare, social, and health affairs, but to all areas of life. [passage omitted]

Arpad Goncz Appoints New State Secretaries

LD3105232390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 31 May 90

[Text] Interim President Arpad Goncz has appointed new state secretaries. Istvan Morvai, a politician of the Smallholders Party, has been appointed political state secretary in the Interior Ministry; Elemer Kiss, Imre Verebelyi, and Andras Javor have been appointed public administration state secretaries in the ministries of Environmental Protection, Interior, and Social Welfare, respectively.

More New State Secretaries

LD0206164690 Budapest MTI in English 1541 GMT 2 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 2 (MTI)—The interim president of the Republic of Hungary has appointed Miklos Lukats to political state secretary of the Ministry of Culture and Public Education, Henrik Auth to administrative state secretary of the Ministry of Industry and Trade, Sandor Gyurkovics to administrative state secretary of transport and telecommunications, and Ferenc Somogyi to administrative state secretary of foreign affairs.

The new state secretaries have taken the oath of office before Prime Minister Jozsef Antall.

National Assembly Debates Ban on Land Sales

LD0406131190 Budapest MTI in English 1110 GMT 4 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 4 (MTI)—Gyorgy Szabad, acting speaker of Parliament, opened Monday's session [4 June] a few minutes after 10.30 a.m. The plenary session, planned to last two days, was begun by a one-minute silent standing-up to mark the 70th anniverary of the Trianon peace treaty.

Under the standing order passed last week, parliament is to hold a plenary session from hereon on Mondays and Tuesdays.

A heated debate evolved over the standing order at the beginning of the session. The debate was triggered by Mr. Szabad's motion to include on the agenda the bill on the amendment of the constitution.

The motion was firmly rejected by both Peter Tolgyessy (AFD) [Alliance of Free Democrats] and Viktor Orban (FYD) [Federation of Young Democrats] including Imre Pozsgay, MP of the HSP [Hungarians Socialist Party]. Attention was called that this issue will require a separate session. In conclusion MPs voted in include the item on Tuesday's agenda, with 163 votes in favour, 118 against and nine abstentions.

According to Monday's agenda MPs will discuss the bill on the temporary ban of selling land owned by cooperative farms, and the bill on the temporary ban of selling former church estates.

National Assembly Debates Sale of Coop Land

LD0406143290 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0926 GMT 4 Jun 90

[Speech by Deputy Geza Zsiros at the National Assembly session in Budapest; introduced by acting speaker Gyorgy Szabad—live relay]

[Excerpts] [Szabad] Esteemed National Assembly. We continue the general debate, begun on Thursday [31 May], on the bill to ban temporarily the transfer of ownership of arable land owned by agricultural cooperatives. [passage omitted on bill having been discussed recently by National Assembly committees] Fellow deputy Geza Zsiros has again redrafted the bill, taking modification proposals into account. He has distributed the new version to the deputies, under No. 71. Since it is a proposal which has been redrafted by the original submitter of the motion, I ask you to regard No. 71 as the basis of debate. [passage omitted on elaboration] I call to your attention that this bill, in the course of modification, has been given a new title. Therefore, what we shall discuss is a bill to amend certain provisions of Law No. 1 of 1987, on land, and Law No. 3 of 1967, on agricultural cooperatives. I now ask Deputy Geza Zsiros, the submitter of the bill, whether he wishes to speak about the reasons for having redrafted the bill. I hand the floor over to him.

[Zsiros] Esteemed National Assembly. Last week, we entered here into a lengthy debate about an issue the resolution of which is underpinned by pressing concerns. The land is at issue. [passage omitted elaborating on how the state deprived the rightful owners of their land during the time of the party-state] Now, this land, which has been stripped of its owners, has become the subject of various shady deals. The former power elite, the representatives who now occupy their places, are now trying to utilise the land in order to salvage their material power. In spite of the long arguments, the National Assembly of the Republic of Hungary recognized these shady endeavors. Last week, in exemplary unity, it expressed its wish to prevent the frittering away of land owned by the state and it drew the turnover of state land under social control, in harmony with earlier decisions made in connection with the protection of state assets. However, this protection must be implemented for cooperatives' lands. This is necessary because more than 61 percent of the country's arable territory, some 5.7 million hectares, are in question here. If this land, this land area, or even part of it, becomes the subject of shady property-salvaging deals, not only will the remedying of former injustices become increasingly difficult, but our greatest national asset will become the subject of speculation, which up to now has spoiled the country.

The situation is not yet tragic now, but it is fraught with danger. It has already been said between these walls that in the first four months of the year, the number of property-transfer requests pertaining to agricultural cooperatives' land, which were handed into the land registry offices, increased ten-fold as compared to the first three months following the liberalization of land-turnover last year. Since no such increase has been observed in the turnover of state arable land, it follows from the date that the target of land speculation has been the cooperatives. For this reason, I ask the esteemed National Assembly, with reference to your responsibility, to bring a halt, in this sphere, to uninhibited speculation, and to make the appropriate decision.

I wish to facilitate this decision with a new version of the independent motion of mine, submitted under the given number, which fellow deputies Zoltan Bogardi of MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum], and Pal Juhasz and Ferenc Toeroek, of SZDSZ [Alliance of Free Democrats] have undertaken to support. The objective of my motion, on the one hand, is to draw the turnover of cooperatives' land under suitable control, and on the other hand, to regulate the subject comprehensively and completely, so as to also enable a certain, necessary movement of land and assets stemming from the cooperatives' conditions.

The first paragraph of the proposal draws any transfer of real estate owned and used communally by the agricultural cooperatives, including their transfer as assets and deposits to companies, under the jurisdiction of control of the assets-control organ to be organized by the minister of the interior. Through this, the proposal extends the system of control already adopted for state property to cooperatives' land, too. However, this regulation must be supplemented with special provisions pertaining to cooperatives, for example the distribution of arable land as assets-shares, as well as preventing the agricultural cooperatives from salvaging arable land, by means of long-term lease contracts. The control over the turnover of cooperatives's land, on identical principled and practical bases to that of state land, in addition to pertaining to cooperatives' property and land-use, requires the incorporation of some diverging regulations which safeguard the rightful interests of cooperative members, their rights to the ownership of their land.

Our supplemental proposal contains three such motions, two of which also necessitate a modification of the law on agricultural cooperatives, since they are interrelated.

One such motion is aimed, alongside the general restriction on turnover, at making it possible for the members to reclaim the lands they took into the cooperatives for individual use. They can thereby revive their rights of disposal as owners. Up to now, it was possible for the agricultural cooperatives' charters to restrict this right of theirs.

The second motion, which affects the law on agricultural cooperatives, intends to say that the restriction on property distribution, made possible in the law, pertains only to arable land, and the normative factor for distributing other property is the time spent as a cooperative member. By means of this, what we wish to avoid is that the distribution of cooperatives' property, which has already gotten under way in several places and which can take place only in the form of securities, should not stop short unnecessarily, but at the same time, unjustified disproportions should not develop between the members, primarily to the advantage of the leaders.

The third motion serves a dual purpose. On the one hand, it wishes to make it possible for the membership, for 15 members entitled by law to found a cooperative, to leave the cooperatives forced into existence in the wake of the party-state's striving after gigantism, for the purpose of founding a new cooperative or merging into another cooperative. Through this, we wish to facilitate the creation of cooperatives of a size that accords with the memberships' requirements. What gives the modification special significance, from the viewpoint of this topic, is that the distribution of property, including the distribution of lands which necessarily takes place in the framework of leaving the cooperative, does not belong among the restrictive provisions. Property disputes which arise in such cases can be taken to court.

Our joint motion, drawn up together with MDF and SZDSZ experts, and which completes the rational and necessary restrictions regarding land turnover, also pays due regard to the diverging, special regulations to be applied in the case of cooperatives. [passage omitted on him asking the National Assembly to support this redrafted motion]

[Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian, later in the live relay of the National Assembly session, at 1235 GMT on 4 June, broadcasts the vote by the National Assembly on the adoption of the draft bill on the modification of certain provisions of the 1987 Law no. 1 and of the 1967 Law no. 3 on agricultural cooperatives. Deputy speaker Vince Voros announces that the National Assembly has adopted the draft bill with 247 votes in favor, 27 votes against, with 38 abstentions]

Assembly To Discuss Constitutional Amendment

*LD0406180190 Budapest MTI in English
1447 GMT 4 Jun 90*

[Text] Budapest, June 4 (MTI)—At Monday's session [4 June] of parliament, MPs [members of parliament] adopted the bills amending the 1987 Law on Land and the 1967 Law on Cooperative Farms.

The amendment puts a temporary ban on selling land owned by agricultural coopertatives. (The related motion was tabled by an MP of the Smallholders Party. The manifesto of the party and the government programme also includes a clause that the issue of land is to be settled according to the 1947 situation. The present amendment of the law creates the precondition to this.)

Subsequently the parliamentary session came to an end. The MPs voted in favour of discussing the bill on the amendment of the Constitution on Tuesday.

Green Party Holds Congress; Elects Leadership

*LD0306172190 Budapest MTI in English
1600 GMT 3 Jun 90*

[Text] Budapest, June 3 (MTI)—The 3rd National Congress of the Green Party of Hungary (GPH), held at Vidra-Tanya (Otter farmstead) near Szeghalom, eastern Hungary, this weekend, elected a new leadership.

The 51 delegates, representing about 700 members of Green organizations in 13 counties and nine Budapest districts, elected a seven-member board, and three co-chairmen: Karoly Szita, chief engineer for ecology in Somogy County, Ivan Gyulay, an ecologist and museologist from Miskolc, and Gyorgy Ilosvay, professor of the Szeged Teachers' Training College.

The congress was marked by a keen debate between the provincial and the Budapest Greens. Since a group called by many as the party aristocracy of Budapest has separated itself from the provinces, the provincial Greens are considering to establish independent local Green parties. The delegates suspended the membership of seven GPH leaders who were accused of having expropriated the party's leadership since the special party congress held in February this year.

Third Young Democrat Congress Opens

*LD0206223890 Budapest MTI in English
1915 GMT 1 Jun 90*

[Text] Budapest, June 1 (MTI)—The Federation of Young Democrats (FYD) started its 3rd congress in Budapest on Friday [1 June]. The three-day congress is open to all of the more than 10,000 members of the organization.

The participants are to expound their views on the future of the FYD, specify the tasks in preparations for the local elections, approve the new rules, and, on Sunday, elect a new board.

Opening the congress, Viktor Orban, head of the FYD's parliamentary group, recalled that the FYD congresses had always coincided with a change in the life of the federation. The current congress also marks the end of a period; namely, the period of organizational stabilization.

The Federation of Young Democrats has become a serious organization with an efficient parliamentary group, a staff of highly qualified experts, and more than 10,000 members, Mr. Orban said.

The 3rd FYD congress takes place at a time when the old order has been wound up and the construction of a new one has begun.

The change in system has altered the point of policy-making and shifted emphasis from national politics to the local one, Orban said.

Accused of Financial Improprieties

*LD0206151490 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 0400 GMT 2 Jun 90*

[Zsolt Bocskai report on the third Federation of Young Democrats congress in Budapest—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] Merry celebrations and serious accusations. This is the balance of the first day. [passage omitted on congratulatory mood of congress]

The only problem for the Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ] leaders was the compilation—unplanned by them—which participants of the congress received at the entrance yesterday. Authors of the more than 10 pages of text accuse the present leaders of criminal acts. They believe that some infringed on financial regulations, and during the election campaign invoices of unknown origin appeared and serious sums disappeared.

The reply, or at least a partial one, was already voiced at the start of the opening. Viktor Orban said that FIDESZ had acquired society's respect, precisely through their honesty and decency, and now it is precisely these principles that are attacked by the compilation. He added that the accusations are unfounded and he will start legal procedures against the authors. The congress will decide this morning whether to debate the text at all.

Another Congress To Be Held

LD0306192290 Budapest MTI in English
1846 GMT 3 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 3 (MTI)—On Sunday [3 June], the third day of the 3rd congress of the Federation of Young Democrats (FYD) [FIDESZ], the participants decided that the federation would hold another congress within a month.

The next congress, which will no longer be open to all members, only to the delegates of the local organizations, will elaborate the new, detailed rules of the federation.

The congress elected the following board: Gergely Barath, Tamas Deutsch, Gabor Fodor, Balazs Furjes, Dorottya Gyurk, Istvan Hegedus, Pal Lippai, Balazs Medgyesi, Laszlo Akos Nemeth, Viktor Orban, Peter Szalai, Robert Szaraz, and Mihaly Szecsenyi.

Young Democrats Walk Out of National Assembly

LD0406152290 Budapest MTI in English
1323 GMT 4 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 4 (MTI)—As already reported MPs [members of parliament] at monday's [4 June] parliamentary session stood for a minute's silence to mark the 70th anniversary of the signing of the Trianon peace treaty.

Prior to the commemoration however, MPs of the parliamentary group of the Federation of Young Democrats (FYD) [FIDESZ] marched out of the session room. Gabor Fodor, MP of the FYD reported that they wished to express their disagreement not with the commemoration itself but with the method of its presentation, given that no prior agreement was reached between the parliamentary parties on the commemoration.

Mr. Fodor requested presiding Gyorgy Szabad to endeavour to reach a parliamentary consensus in advance in similar cases. In his response, Mr. Szabad said he takes personal responsibility for what has taken place. He initiated the commemoration in view of the related joint communique published by all six parliamentary parties, Mr. Szabad explained.

Election Outcome, Public Frustration Viewed

AU0106160490 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 28 May 90 p 3

[Jerzy Surdykowski commentary: "Weights and Measures"]

[Text] It will be no breakthrough. How could it be? The twenty-seventh of May 1990 will not usher in a new period in Polish history in the way that the 4 June 1989 elections did. The local government elections—although they were the first to be completely free since the war—will just turn out to be one link in what will still be a long chain of facts, events, and changes in opinion that will gradually create a feeling of public spiritedness in society that has been disinherited of that sense. With the exception of the nobility in the prepartition commonwealth when that estate felt itself to be the master in its various regions and the sejmik of the nobility (we should not laugh at what has been made to appear repugnant by the authoritarian historians who have produced various fine distinctions to describe the "holding of sejms") was a local government council that was full of life, we can only talk about that feeling of being disinherited. Not only national, but also local government is impossible under foreign domination and the republic of between the wars was too short-lived and too torn by both internal and external conflicts to engender and consolidate a feeling of responsibility for the state and for the local community. The fundamental difference between the American and the Pole does not reside in the contents of their pocketbooks, but in the fact that when the American drives over a pothole in the road, he say: Doggone it, my taxes are doing a bad job and I am going to rake the mayor over the coals for this! The Pole will say: Doggone it, "they" have not repaired the road.

The Polish political scene, where a whole host of fractious parties and all sorts of small-time parties are bustling around alongside a weighty, but increasingly divided "Solidarity" is just at the initial stage of the process whereby real forces crystallize and are formed. Nevertheless, whatever the outcome of the elections, as soon as the newly elected councils start to meet, it will become clear just how important an opposition is and not just those in power. This applies to where the Citizens Committee won the elections and the organized parties and independents will form the opposition as well as to where, for example, the Polish Peasant Party won and the "Solidarity" Citizens Committee will form the main opposition force. If we see the councils being dominated by that remnant of Stalinism, which is becoming increasingly noticeable in public life and in debate between political forces, that is, the tendency to ignore and eliminate the opposition, then the Poland of pluralist, free local government councils will be permanently paralyzed and lose the ability to function.

Until the changes of 1989-90, to be in the opposition meant: to seek to bring about the collapse of a decrepit system using all the means available. Today it means: caring for the state and the local community along with those in power, while differing on spending and programs in hopes of becoming the ones in power following the next elections. In the past the opposition was the bane of those in power, but now it is to be their unforgiving, but wise and essential critic. Will we understand that? Will those in power learn to respect their opposition, and will the opposition, which holds different views, cooperate with those in power? Will this also happen at the local level? Let us hope that it does, although we have almost no traditions of this kind.

Something we now need very much in Polish political life is what a certain wise friend of mine called "a feeling of weights and measures." In times that have seen the price for courage fall, wise moderation is what should be valued most. However, it should be combined with that steadfastness of purpose that can only come from an awareness of what the ultimate goal is. Polish public life has become increasingly stormy over the past few weeks: There has been an upsurge in the demands being voiced and the frustration felt by those who have been wronged as well as the exuberant ambitions cherished by activists are making themselves felt. Appeals and persuasion are to no avail. People are bitter not only because of high prices and paltry wages, but, above all, because those who are responsible for the catastrophe in Poland as well as for common crimes have not been punished. I am against "witch-hunts" and in favor of the rule of law, even if that law is imperfect. However, if those who are responsible for the most glaring acts of provocation in the years 1981-88 and if those who are responsible for the economic disaster of "real socialism" are not identified by name, then that feeling of frustration will continue to mount. This is also a case where a feeling of weights and measure is needed, especially of the weight of what was done in Poland on that December night [martial law was imposed on 13 Dec 1981]. There will be a time and place for that following the elections.

Commentary on 'Low Turnout' in Local Elections

AU0206192090 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 28 May 90 p 1

[Krzysztof Pilawski commentary: "A Hundred Words"]

[Text] The public opinion polls predicting a 60-percent voter turnout were wrong. The majority of people having the right to vote remained at home.

The low turnout is a setback for democracy and it illustrates the frailty of our political system. The political preferences of Poles seem to be more fragmented than the theory postulating that Polish society fully supports "Solidarity" would have us believe. Many of those who do not trust "Solidarity" and who see no other alternative force they could ally with, decided not to participate in the election.

The low turnout could prove to be one of the subjects for political negotiations in the near future. For example, by those who support a radical settling of old scores with former authorities and the creation of a Polish hell. The election figures will be one more argument with which they can attack Mazowiecki's "gentle" policies.

A setback is not a disaster. It takes time to assimilate democracy. However, one can shorten this period by developing a normal, namely, a European-style political system whose base is formed by strong political parties which enjoy continuing support from their constituents.

Election Results, Implications Weighed

AU0106174990 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 29 May 90 p 1

[Bozena Wawrzewska: "An Empty Scene?"]

[Text] There were two elements which stood out about Sunday's [27 May] elections: the low turnout as well as the quite evident, and in some districts, crushing victory won by the structures associated with "Solidarity." The questions that arise are: First, to what extent do the election results reflect the actual arrangement of political forces in the country, and second, what does the "Solidarity" victory herald for the future councils?

Going on the preliminary, unofficial, and still incomplete results, the overwhelming majority of seats were won by the apolitical, amorphous, nonideological movement of citizens committees; a movement that lacks even a legal foundation. It was the movement that appeared on the national political scene in May of last year, a time of fundamental change, and decidedly dominated it. It based itself on that beautiful, dramatic chapter which belonged to "Solidarity"; it based itself on the union's prestige.

Does the Citizens Committee movement enjoy the same prestige that it enjoyed a year ago?

The initial local government election results appear to confirm that it does. In fact, this is not that surprising. After all, the movement continues to be backed by the prestige of many well-known, valued, and respected politicians; Lech Walesa and Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki being among them. It is also of certain significance that the Citizens Committee movement is the only well-organized force that there is.

Nevertheless, the election success, if it is officially confirmed as such, was undoubtedly aided by the weakness of the rival candidates and other political parties that took part. Initial results confirm the conjecture that these parties played practically no role whatsoever in the election political scene (the Polish Peasant Party being a possible exception, but there is a lack of information on the election successes that it may have scored). Further, the parties that have been in existence for years as well as those that are newly established suffered defeat in equal measure.

Perhaps the aversion toward parties, which stems from the past, is not confined to old parties, regardless of whether they have changed their names (Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland) or not (Democratic Party). It appears to have been extended to the new parties. On the other hand, perhaps those parties that are emerging on the political scene just do not have the support that some of their leaders claim they have. The old parties bear a burden that they cannot seem to deal with, whereas the new parties are simply of no significance. However, the results may also be a trap for the future local councils. They will be starting off under very difficult circumstances: They will not have the money they need and there are an enormous number of issues that they will have to address. It will be very difficult to achieve successes, and it will be possible to place the blame for a lack of success on effectively one force. A lack of success on the part of the local councils may result in a great degree of disappointment with the Citizens Committee movement. Viewed from this angle, it would be better if responsibility were to be shared to a greater extent among others (after all, in the end it will not suffice to argue that the Communists are responsible for the country being in a state of neglect).

So, several months before parliamentary elections will probably be held, the political scene is virtually empty, or, to be more accurate, it is filled by a movement that consistently declares that it is apolitical. If this situation continues, Poland will be a unique phenomenon on the world political map.

There are probably a few months left to go before the parliamentary elections. Perhaps real political movements and parties will take shape and somehow consolidate themselves during that period and instead of splitting up into even more factions, they will seek to unite themselves and work out a platform. There is a lot of room in the political arena. Who is going to fill it?

Election Commissioner Issues Rural Area Results

LD0106160790 Warsaw PAP in English 2148 GMT 31 May 90

[Text] Warsaw, 31 May—On May 31, the general electoral commissioner published comprehensive returns of elections to the councils of rural communities in Poland held on May 27, 1990.

The elections were held for 2,383 councils of rural communities and 47,997 electoral ridings were set up to hold these elections. They were held in 21,512 electoral districts. There were 26,925,267 citizens entitled to vote and 11,380,629 citizens, that is, 42.27 per cent of the entirety of these entitled to vote, took part in the elections (cast their ballots).

147,389 People ran as candidates out of the overall number of 52,037 mandates in the councils. Councillors were elected for 51,987 mandates, which accounts for 99.90 per cent, as a result of the elections.
51,987 Councillors were elected and they include:
30,002 for councils in rural communities,
3,552 for councils in towns with up to 40,000 inhabitants,

4,435 for municipal councils in towns with more than 40,000 inhabitants,
13,654 for councils of rural communities and towns,
344 for councils of town districts.

On the basis of the electoral returns, the communique of the general electoral commissioner says that all councils of rural communities have the sufficient number of the elected councillors to be able to start work.

PSL Leader Disputes Announced Election Results

LD0106125690 Warsaw PAP in English 1208 GMT 1 Jun 90

[Text] Warsaw, 1 June—Chairman of the PSL Polish Peasant Party Roman Bartoszcze told a press conference here that results of elections to self-government bodies announced by the election's general commissioner were not true.

According to the data gathered by the voivodship boards of the PSL the party's activists account for 18.5 per cent of the newly elected councillors and not for the mere 6.5 per cent as officially announced.

SdRP 'Most Important Left-Wing Party'

LD0206213490 Warsaw PAP in English 1942 GMT 2 Jun 90

[Text] Warsaw, 2 Jun—According to data released at a meeting of the chief council of the Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland (SdRP), 1,112 SDRP members and some 3,300 well-wishers of the party were elected to local governments last May 27. Nearly 980,000 people voted for SDRP candidates, which makes it possible to say that SDRP is the most important left-wing party in Poland, the meeting stressed.

According to SDRP general secretary Leszek Miller, the low turnout left the elections without a winner and revealed weak points of the Polish party system.

Member of the SDRP Executive Committee Krzysztof Janik told the meeting that in the face of the coming parliamentary elections, the party would send to the prime minister a list of violations of electoral law reported during the recent elections to local governments.

OPZZ Adopts 'Programmatic Declaration'

LD0306192790 Warsaw PAP in English 1847 GMT 3 Jun 90

[Text] Warsaw, 3 Jun—The second congress of the OPZZ All-Poland Trade Union Alliance held debates late into the night on Saturday [2 June], electing the following deputy chairmen of the movement: Wojciech Obarski, Waclaw Martyniuk, Maciej Manicki, Stanislaw Wisniewski, Ewa Spychalska, and Wit Majewski.

The third day of the congress began with an unexpected accent: OPZZ Chairman Alfred Miodowicz attended mass at the St. Cross Church in Warsaw for the unemployed.

On its last day, the congress adopted the OPZZ programmatic declaration which speaks in favour of holding early parliamentary and presidential elections.

As goes for economic issues, the OPZZ favours a deepening of pluralistic forms of ownership, real equality between all sectors of the economy. It also speaks out for state intervention in regulating economic processes. Miodowicz's trade unions also want to wage an unrelenting struggle against unemployment and a replacement of social policy with charity.

In the trade union field, the OPZZ wants to retain the right to strike and demands that the new constitution guarantee the trade union's right to table legislative initiatives to parliament.

The OPZZ also demands that the senate be replaced with a self-governing chamber of producers.

In a resolution on international affairs, the OPZZ offers its mediation in the dialogue between the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the World Confederation of Labour and the World Federation of Trade Unions.

Administrative Changes in Warsaw; New President

LD2905090190 Warsaw PAP in English 2112 GMT 28 May 90

[Text] Warsaw, 28 May—The prime minister relieved Stanislaw Wyganowski of his duties of president of the capital city of Warsaw in connection with organizational changes in local bodies of government administration.

The prime minister named Adam Langer Warsaw's acting voivod.

Langer entrusted Wyganowski with the task of continuing work on the organization of local self-government administration consisting in a division of the to-date office of the capital city of Warsaw into two offices: the voivodship office and the future office of the union of districts-communes of Warsaw.

Commentary Calls for New Strike Legislation

AU0106123890 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 28 May 90 p 3

[Stanislaw Turnau commentary: "There Were To Be No Strikes"]

[Text] The railway workers, first on hunger protest and then on strike, cannot be accused of breaking the law, because the law on strikes is so inadequate that it is as good as nonexistent.

The current law on trade unions dates from 1982 (with some later amendments). A year ago, the present members of parliament, members of the government, and "Solidarity" leaders described this law as scandalous. According to its provisions, strikes are forbidden no matter what the situation may be, and the arbitration machinery the law provides for settling such conflicts does not exist in practice.

Today, the government does not resort to this anti-strike legislation, but according to the current law, the costs of the rail strike and the losses sustained by Polish State Railways, must be covered by the trade unions that supported the strike. If we had had adequate legislation in this sphere, Alfred Miodowicz would have thought long and hard before declaring his support for an illegal strike.

During the nine months of our government and the Sejm coalition, nothing has been done as far as trade union legislation is concerned. Last year the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy presented a draft that sought to amend the strike provisions. However, the draft was so poor that it was quickly shelved.

"Solidarity" deputies have shown little interest in the matter and the "Solidarity" trade union after raising the issue suggested that Labor Minister Kuron should shelve any new legislative initiatives, until the "Solidarity" congress had adopted a position on the matter. Everyone believed that for the time being there would be no strikes.

After the congress, "Solidarity" decided that it would prepare the draft legislation itself. During the national committee meeting on 16 May the first draft prepared by experts was rejected.

The problem with a strike is not just a question of the regulations applicable to strike action, but a regulation that binds both parties to negotiate in good faith. "Solidarity" is also charged with preparing this document, but nobody can say when this will be ready.

The Sejm, the government, and the "Solidarity" trade union, all neglected this issue and the rail strike showed this was a mistake. A quick amendment of the trade union legislation is called for. Even faulty legislation will be better than none. The rewriting of the whole law will take a long time and the conviction that only the rail employees might attempt strike action may prove completely false.

Walesa Telephones Workers

LD0106161790 Warsaw PAP in English 2120 GMT 31 May 90

[Text] Gdansk, 31 May—Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa held a tele-conference with railwaymen of all the eight railway districts in Poland today.

The key topic was the successful intervention of Walesa which ended the railway strike on Monday [28 May]. At the outset the Solidarity chairman thanked the railwaymen for accepting unpopular decisions and ending the strike.

Recalling his two visits to the striking railwaymen in Slupsk, Walesa categorically rejected blackmail as a method of pressure. He also stressed that the joint communique spoke of an end and not a suspension of the strike and that he had only promised to hold a press confeence with them on June 13.

"All of us in this dispute made mistakes many times. The dispute itself was logical, it stemmed from reforms and the mistakes of all of us: The government, trade unions, me, the railwaymen. Let everyone draw conclusions and get down to work. This matter was necessary for Polish reforms. This was a lesson. It just was too bad that the lesson took place precisely in the railways and cost us too much," Walesa said.

Asked who would cover the costs of the strike and whether the strikers would be held accountable, Walesa said he was against punishing the strikers. He also suggested that the railwaymen receive pay for the time they were on strike, adding that he hoped some decisions and settlements would be made before June 13. "The government should give as much as it can for pay raises in the railways but the rest must be found directly in the PKP railway authority, through organizational and structural changes," Walesa said.

Asked what he thought of OPZZ [All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions] Chairman Alfred Miodowicz's role in the Slupsk strike Walesa said: "We should be together. Miodowicz and Jurczyk supported a just protest but also lawlessness. I would like to end the quarrel."

Walesa was also asked about the economic situation in Poland and the situation of working people in general, stating in part:

"The Balcerowicz plan was to show that the Poles would endure, albeit with crying and fist-clenching, and that it is worthwhile to introduce foreign investment in Poland. This has worked. We are admired. I however think that this plan better suits America even though it has proven effective. My plan was better but ineffective as goes for (winning over) the West. Now is probably the time for our plans to meet. I see this as a new Poland, a Poland of small companies springing up everywhere, family-run, working together with big factories, working for local needs.

"We must seek and build models of departing from the old system. All the former communist countries are looking at us. The West must help us in this respect."

Walesa also rejected anxiety over growing unemployment, recalling his concept: "There can be no unemployment in a country where there is so much to do that two generations will not be enough. Work need only be properly organized."

Government Spokeswoman Holds News Conference

LD0106194390 Warsaw PAP in English 1523 GMT 1 Jun 90

[Text] Warsaw, 1 Jun—Neither Tadeusz Mazowiecki nor the government treated the elections to local self-governments as a test of their popularity, said Malgorzata Niezabitowska, the government press spokeswoman, at her press conference here today.

Other leading subjects discussed during the conference attended by undersecretary at the Ministry of Finance, Wojciech Misiag, included upcoming foreign visits, assistance for Lithuania, Stasi Activities in Poland, situation in the Middle East, the resumption of investigations in notorious political murders in Poland, another stage of Balcerowicz's programme and the attitude of the government to OPZZ [All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions] activities.

Before Summit in Moscow

During a summit meeting of Warsaw Treaty in Moscow on June 7, Poland will not touch upon the question of the change of the treaty's structures, Niezabitowska said. The meeting will mainly focus on the information about the results of Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to the United States and the future of security on the European continent.

What Was Stasi's Job in Poland

Niezabitowska said that the government would demand explanation from the GDR's authorities concerning the activities of the GDR's political police in Poland, following recent reports in Western press. No details can be revealed today. The matter is being studied, she said.

Assistance for Lithuania

Poland is granting Lithuania social support which covers mainly food and medicines. Poland is also a transmit country for conveying humanitarian aid by the West. Shipments go through the border commune of Punsk.

Against Anti-Soviet Incidents

Niezabitowska expressed regret in connection with the incidents aimed against the Soviet diplomatic posts in Poland. "We will do everything to stop these incidents which are organised by isolated small groups of irresponsible people." Niezabitowska appealed to society for counteracting such incidents which the government condemns.

"The relations with the Soviet Union have ceased to be of an ideological and satellite character and they are partnerly now," she added.

Norwegian Premier Starts Visit on Sunday [3 June]

An intergovernmental agreement on mutual protection and promotion of investments will be the most important document that is to be signed during Norwegian Premier Jan P. Syse's Polish visit starting this Sunday [3 June].

Premier Syse will be accompanied by a group of businessmen and a signing of an agreement on cooperation between the Komuna Paryska shipyard in Gdynia and a Norwegian concern is expected.

Also discussed will be a joint—in the future—extraction of crude oil and gas, and currently—a delivery of these fuels from Norway to Poland.

The talk will also concern both premiers' cooperation during the coming (September) conference of the Baltic states.

The visit will be an occasion to discuss matters of tightening cultural and scientific cooperation.

Niezabitowska recalled that Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski recently visited Norway and that National Defence Minister Florian Siwicki participated a few days ago in the observances of the 50 anniversary of the Battle of Narvik.

Iraq's Protest—Ungrounded

Niezabitowska rejected the stance of Iraq expressed yesterday by the spokesman for the Iraqi Foreign Ministry alleging that the possibility of transit through Poland for Jewish emigrants from USSR was a hostile act towards Iraq. The spokeswoman recalled moral obligations of the Polish Government, guided by respect for human rights, towards Iraq. The spokeswoman recalled moral obligations of the Polish Government, guided by respect for human rights, towards people of Jewish nationality and deeply-rooted ties of the Polish and Jewish peoples. This does not change our attitude towards the Palestinian people who have the right to their own state, Niezabitowska said and added that Poland shared the ideas embodied in the Dublin declaration of EEC countries adopted last February.

Visas to West Berlin and Austria

Poland deems the announcement of the introduction of entry visas for Poles travelling to West Berlin as unjust, Niezabitowska said and added that at present the issue is the subject of talks held by Poland's Foreign Ministry. Niezabitowska said that during an Austrian visit by the head of Poland's main customs office, the sides agreed upon the application of extra rigours by Poland vis-a-vis Polish "tourist-peddlers." Austrian customs officers will arrive in Poland to take part in the customs controls here. She expressed hope that these moves will postpone the decision of the Austrian authorities to introduce visas for Poles.

Three Visits in Spain

While answering a question from PAP's reporter concerning intensification of Polish visits in Spain (President Jaruzelski, Premier Mazowiecki and Solidarity leader Lech Walesa), Niezabitowska said that it was due to "making up for the lost time", as contacts with Spain were in some sense neglected.

Casaroli's Visit

Secretary of State at the Vatican Cardinal Agostino Casaroli is to privately visit Poland on June 1-6. He is coming to Poland in connection with his having been awarded a h.c. doctorate by the Papal Theological Academy in Krakow. He is to be received by the president, premier, foreign minister and will visit several shrines in Poland.

On Kashmir Conflict

"Poland is very concerned with the developments in Kashmir", Niezabitowska said and added that the Indian-Pakistani dispute should be settled peacefully in tune with the 1972 treaty signed by these states.

In Wake of Local Government Elections

"On May 27 a local and self-governing Poland was born of free elections," Niezabitowska stated.

Speaking about the lower than expected turnout, she justified the fact by weariness and apathy of the people, unwillingness toward political activity, short electrical campaign and by the fact that self-government reform was conducted" on the march."

Situation on Railways

The railways are operating normally now, but many problems remain to be solved. Niezabitowska was "fairly critical" of the OPZZ All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions' participation in the rail strike. By this the strike acquired a political dimension and aggravated the situation.

She added that Premier Mazowiecki would not be a guest of the 2nd OPZZ congress starting in Warsaw today.

Exports Growth Rate Down

While comparing the current situation in Polish exports to the socialist and capitalist countries with that of the first months of the year, Wojciech Misiag said that the growth rate has declined. However, the results of exports to the socialist and capitalist countries are far better than those last year. A strong decline of demand at home and well-known decisions taken last January on a high exchange rate of the zloty to the dollar were the invigorating factors, he said.

Revaluation of Zloty?

Misiag did not rule out the possibility of the zloty's revaluation against the dollar due to a favourable balance of payments so far. This however, will be possible as one of the elements of the implementation of the next stage of Balcerowicz's programme.

Next Stage of Balcerowicz's Programme

The period from January till now was decribed by Misiag as a "stabilization stage" of Balcerowicz's programme. He said that at its next meeting, the Council of Ministers would assess this stage of the reform and take decisions aimed at the invigoration of production. Considered is also possibility of correcting the state budget and adjusting it to new prices and pays as well as ownership transformations (the Sejm is working on a package of privatization bills.) Misiag stressed that the advancement to the next stage aimed at the recovery must be implemented with utmost care as most of economic reform programmes collapsed at this particular stage.

Misiag said that in the inter-war period there were probably 90 issues of government bonds. "I do not know whether the state can currently afford something more than a gesture towards the owners of these bonds," he said.

Misiag did not exclude a possibility of a government appeal for voluntary relaying these bonds to the state treasury.

What Will Popieluszko's Killers Say?

Commenting on the fact of holding conversations with the Father Popieluszko's killers, now serving their terms, Niezabitowska stressed that during their trial many things were not cleared up.

"It is possible that now new elements of this tragedy will surface," she said.

The spokeswoman also announced reopening the case of Father Zych's death. She added that should there be new traces or evidence, then also other cases of priests' deaths will be reopened.

Other Matters

During the conference the newsmen were told that the opening of the CSCE human dimension conference in Copenhagen will be attended by Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski.

Niezabitowska said that to-date no instances of corruption among top officials were found, that there were no constant tensions between Walesa and the government and that Mazowiecki spoke in Paris with Cardinal Lustiger about a spiritual dimension of the shaping democracy without which it cannot be lasting.

'Anarchists' Attack Soviet Consulate in Gdansk

LD0206213590 Warsaw PAP in English 2002 GMT 2 Jun 90

[Text] Gdansk, 2 Jun—A group of anarchists attacked today the Soviet Consulate in Gdansk with bottles filled with petrol. One window was broken.

Anarchists protested against an alleged murder of an anarchist in Kuzneck.

Consul Condemns Attack

LD0406181190 Warsaw PAP in English 1658 GMT 4 Jun 90

[Text] Gdansk, 4 Jun—In connection with the attack on the Soviet Consulate in Gdansk on June 2, the Soviet consul general in Gdansk, Vadim Mutski presented a diplomatic note to the Gdansk Voivod Jerzy Jedykiewicz expressing protest and concern over growing excesses violating the safety of diplomatic representations. The Gdansk voivod expressed deep regret at the incidents and at the same time made assurances that all necessary steps and action had been taken to guarantee normal and peaceful work for the Soviet Consulate.

The voivod also obliged himself to have the damage speedily repaired.

On June 2, six men from a radical anarchist organization attacked the consulate building with petrol bottles, two of which ignited and smothered the walls, and smashed windows.

Walesa Nominates Baltic States for Nobel Prize

AU0506112090 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 2-3 Jun 90 p 1

[Letter from Lech Walesa to the Norwegian Nobel Peace Prize Committee in Oslo; date not given]

[Text] To the Norwegian Nobel Peace Prize Committee:

Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia are countries that are proceeding alone along the path to independence. While the world maintains a passive stance, they have manifested extraordinary courage in showing how attached they are to the ideals of freedom and self-determination—ideals that are written into the constitutions of all democratic states. This is happening despite numerous attempts to create conflicts by means of applying military, political, and economic pressure.

I would like to propose that the nations of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia be awarded the 1990 Nobel Peace Prize.

The bestowal of such an honor and distinction on the Baltic states would be an expression of the recognition that they deserve from the world community. It would break the conspiracy of silence surrounding the problem of independence for the Baltic republics. Awarding the prize to the Baltic nations would create hopes that the governments of Western states will be willing to work out an ethical style of pursuing political activity with respect to smaller, and politically and economically weaker states.

Lech Walesa.

Statement on Pogrom Anniversary

LD0406154190 Warsaw PAP in English 1400 GMT 4 Jun 90

[Text] Gdansk, 4 Jun—The press bureau of the leader of Solidarity has presented the following statement of Lech Walesa to PAP:

The 44th Anniversary of the pogrom of the Jewish population in Kielce falls a month from now. This collective murder is the darkest event in the history of the relations between Poles and Jews in the last half-century.

Regardless of whoever an in whoseever interest provoked the pogrom, it remains a fact that the killers were Polish and that they did it on Polish soil.

Anti-semitism has not disappeared from our collective life. We must continue to struggle against its remnants and defend ourselves from its resurgence. News of shameful anti-Semitic excesses is coming in from other European countries. Hence, memory of what happened in Kielce on July 4, 1946 is the more important.

That is why I propose to embed a plaque at the site of the pogrom which would be a commemoration of the innocent victims an expression of sorrow and a warning for future generations.

Remarks on Citizens Committee

LD0406182190 Warsaw PAP in English 1656 GMT 4 Jun 90

[Text] Gdansk, 4 Jun—PAP has received the statement of Lech Walesa regarding the citizen's committee and Henryk Wujec from the Press Bureau of the chairman of Solidarity, reading in part:

The Citizen's Committee attached to the Solidarity chairman faces new tasks following the local government elections: further action to create a citizen's society, and especially assistance in the formation of political groups with alternative or complementary programs.

The committee must describe its role in Poland more clearly and must introduce clear principles governing its operation.

I consider it my right and obligation to speedily marshal its administrative and executive bodies, with a view to removing the irregularities and ambiguities therein. At issue is marshalling of the secretariat and offices of the citizen's committee and separating them from institutions which are not part of the committee.

The secretariat is an executive body of the committee and must be subordinated to its chairman. It cannot be tied with the structures of the Citizen's Parliamentary Club.

The to-date secretary of the Citizen's Committee, Henryk Wujec has been well-known for many years and is merited, particularly in the field of cooperation with local citizen's committees. Nonetheless, the structural flaws of the executive administration of the Citizen's Committee place Henryk Wujec in a position contradictory both with the requirement of the citizen's committee effective operation and the regulations of law.

That is why I have made a decision to make changes in the post of the citizen's committee's secretary.

Dutch Defense Minister Ter Beek Arrives

LD0406131190 Warsaw PAP in English
1248 GMT 4 Jun 90

[Text] Warsaw, June 4—Dutch Defence Minister Reluster [Ter] Beek arrived here today for an official visit paid at an invitation from Polish National Defence Minister General Florian Siwicki.

Discusses 'Test Inspections'

LD0406223890 Warsaw PAP in English
2053 GMT 4 Jun 90

[Text] Warsaw, 4 Jun—Polish National Defence Minister, General Florian Siwicki and Dutch Defence Minister Relus Ter Beek held a press conference here to discuss a memorandum of understanding on staging test inspections of conventional armed forces in both countries, signed today.

Under the memorandum the Polish side will hold a test inspection in Holland of a tank battalion, a mechanised battalion, an artillery division and an air force base between next September 10 and 14. The Dutch will inspect mechanised, artillery and fighter-combat plane regiments between September 26 and 30.

This venture mainly intends to express both states will to cooperate in the interest of Vienna negotiations on conventional armed forces in Europe, Siwicki said. We have been dealing with one of the most difficult problems in negotiations, that is the search for efficient forms of verification of realization of reached settlements. Our suggestions and experiences might contribute to the signing of an agreement in Vienna, he stated.

It is also significant that Poland and Holland will become the first countries belonging to former East and West which have agreed to make this common effort, the Dutch minister told newsmen. I am extremely glad that Poland immediately accepted the proposal we put forward several months ago. The short period during which the two countries' experts worked out all the details of the memorandum shows immense great mutual confidence. It is just confidence that is a key notion in determining our mutual relations, he summed up.

Foreign Trade Minister on Debt Talks With France

LD0406195190 Warsaw PAP in English
1830 GMT 4 Jun 90

[Text] Warsaw, 4 Jun—Poland's Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Marcin Swiecicki returned from a week-long visit to France and the United States today.

In Paris the minister told PAP reporters:

"We asked for France's backing for our efforts to reduce our foreign debt. The French listened to our arguments but did not assure us that the problem would be solved as we wanted. On our part, we spoke about Poland's specific situation, about our reforms which in case of failure would affect the democratic process in many other postcommunist countries.

"We also postulated in Paris that our strivings to be associated with the EC not be delayed. In this respect we have France's big support.

"We also touched upon the matter of change of Poland's credit standing as unfortunately Poland is currently in the biggest risk group. That is why credits for goods exported from France to Poland are especially hard to obtain and costly for French companies. This stalls an expansion of economic cooperation.

"Credits allotted by France for the development of Polish-French joint ventures total 900 million francs from the three coming years but only 100 million can be used this year. We asked that this amount be upped as there are many joint investment projects which can be purchased."

Cooperation With Kaliningrad Region Urged

PM0106151490 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish
21 Apr 90 p 7

[Stanislaw Kulawiec article: "Within a Hand's Reach: To Get a Start on Germans in Kaliningrad"]

[Text] I believe the time has come to take a different look at the problem of the Vistula Bight and the adjoining Kaliningrad Oblast of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR]. The progress of detente throughout the world and the process of perestroyka in the USSR have created a situation in which this area has been slowly losing its significance as one of Soviet Union's "special military zones." On the other hand, the significance of the region's economic potential is steadily growing.

The beginning of 1989 saw the abolition of restrictions regulating Soviet citizens' movements in this area (except in Baltiysk Rayon—formerly Pilawa), though the whole region remains closed to tourists from other countries, if we overlook the dwindling exchange with the border voivodships of the Polish Republic. Economic cooperation between the Elblag and Olsztyn Voivodships and the area in question—which, after all, is geographically closest to Poland's East Pomerania—has been stemmed, because at present there is not even a single decent highway border-crossing point in operation along the length of the border from Braniewo to Goldap. The absence of proper border crossings gave the authorities in Moscow a pretext for the virtual abolition of trade between neighboring areas on both sides of the border. This created such a paradoxical situation as the need to transport canned fish from Kaliningrad to Olsztyn, via the Lazdijai-Ogrodniki border crossing, that is, across Lithuanian territory, which brought predictable and well-publicized economic and political consequences. True, there was the project to build a border crossing on the Bartoszyce-Bagrationovsk (formerly Pruska Ilawka) highway, but the Soviet side withdrew from the undertaking, quoting financial considerations in their explanation.

The border between East Pomerania and the RSFSR's Kaliningrad Oblast—which was, figuratively speaking, drawn by Stalin with one sweep of a pencil across the map, with full approval from the Western powers—has become a historical, as well as political, anachronism, especially in present times. The plowed-up strip of land bordered by two rows of barbwire fences festooned with signaling equipment and punctuated by control towers and infrequent and usually locked and bolted gates—not to mention the dozens and dozens of hectares of land gone to waste (overgrown with self-seeded trees and shrubbery, and so on) which continue in a practically unbroken belt between the actual border line and the border's security facilities—offers a truly peculiar sight in today's Europe as the latter strives for unification. This section of our border with the USSR, extending for about 200 km from the point on the Bay of Gdansk coastline where the Vistula Spit begins to the corner where it adjoins Lithuania (near Lake Wisztynieckie [Vistycio Ezeras]), is a typical example of a Stalinist-style border: "locked, bolted, and double-locked again."

The establishment of a naval base by the Russians at Baltiysk and the closure of the Vistula Bight to foreign shipping, as well as the establishment of an arbitrary border virtually down the middle of former East Prussia, have led not only to an economic collapse of the harbors in Elblag, Frombork, Tolkmicko, and Braniewo, but also to a decline of the parts and localities which made their living from the sea and which lie on the Soviet side of the Bight, including Swieta Siekierka (now Mamonovo) or Brandenburg (now Ushakovo) and the destruction of the fishing village of Narmeln on the Vistula Spit.

Are the Germans Extending a Grasping Hand?

I think, therefore, that it is time to begin thinking about the future of the territory of the present Kaliningrad Oblast, which takes up about one-third of the former East Prussia—a region which for centuries constituted, historically and politically, a homogenous whole, and which remains to this day, a homogenous whole in the geographic and natural sense.

Today, it will not be so easy for Poland to make up for its lost historical opportunity to reclaim this territory after 1945 (the proposal to incorporate the whole of East Prussia into Poland was put before the Western powers by General W. Sikorski's government in exile, and it is also worth recalling here the opportunities we had as a result of, for example, the Prussian Oath of Allegiance of 1525 or the Welawa [Wehlau]-Bydgoszcz Treaties of 1657). But lately political realities have been changing with the speed of an avalanche. In the near future we can expect to see a united Germany and a fully sovereign Lithuania. And what will happen to Kaliningrad Oblast then? Will it remain a Russian enclave which will then—just like East Prussia before the war—need a land corridor across Poland or Lithuania or a sea route for shipping supplies and people in analogy to the pre-war Ostseedienst? I am beginning to have serious doubts whether this area, which is at present economically neglected, will be cost-effective for the Russians when the geopolitical circumstances are altered.

I am well aware that to talk today about changing the border status quo which has been fashioned over the past 45 years is tantamount to dividing up the bearskin before the bear is killed, but I believe that the long-term future of these territories or, to be more precise, the determination of which state they will belong to, cannot be a matter of indifference to Poland. After all, we now see an entirely new economic situation developing on our northeast border. The Russians, of course, will not want to give up this territory all that easily—even if they are subjected to considerable political pressure from the neighboring states—and they are beginning to examine the possibilities for its development in the setting up of several free-trade zones around the harbors of Baltiysk, Kaliningrad, and—possibly—in Svetlyy. These aspirations are echoed by West German plans to introduce West German capital into the region as part of an economic expansion campaign.

These intentions, among others, were expressed by F. Wilhelm Christians in an article entitled "Auf Tuchfuehlung" (Within a Hand's Reach) in the Hamburg weekly DIE ZEIT (23 February 1990). He described the area around Kaliningrad, among others, as "an ideal location for economic cooperation"—between Germany and the USSR, of course. Christians (a former spokesman of the Deutsche Bank board of directors) has for years supported the idea of close economic cooperation between the FRG and Kaliningrad Oblast, and he now plans to win the Soviet Government over to his proposal for the establishment of an industrial and free-trade zone around Kaliningrad. He presented the plan personally to Premier N. Ryzhkov and Minister E. Shevardnadze. Predictably enough, F.W. Christians refers in his article to the concept of the "common European home" and the "new historical identity" acquired by the present-day residents of the Kaliningrad zone, and so on (among other things he highlights the figure of the well-known German philosopher Immanuel Kant, whose grave has been carefully preserved in Kaliningrad, as well as the local residents' growing interest in the history of these territories prior to 1945.)

As regards the plan itself, Christian proposes, among other things, that the Kaliningrad-Lubecke-Kiel waterway be used to transport materials from the Kola Peninsula to West Europe after they have been processed locally in the Kaliningrad zone. He suggests new capital industrial investments in which, naturally, German capital would be involved as well as Germans who are Soviet citizens (there are about 2 million of them) and who, instead of emigrating to the West, would settle within the Oblast (!), thus raising its economic standards to unprecedented heights. The area would become a "voluntary settlement zone" for a proportion of Soviet Germans, which—as Christian claims—would not infringe on the Lebensraum of its present inhabitants. It is, in fact, true that the area is, on the whole, sparsely populated.

F.W. Christians speculates on Moscow's becoming attracted to his ideas because of the anticipated hard-currency revenues from the material processing industry and from tourist-oriented development of this part of the Baltic coast. The Kurskaya Spit and the Sambia (Yantarnyy) Peninsula are largely neglected as far as tourist facilities are concerned, as is also the amber-rich coast near Baltiysk, with the exception of the popular spas such as Zelenogradsk (Kranz) and Svetlogorsk (Rauschen), which have been restored by the military.

Through the Kitchen Door

It will be patently obvious to anyone and everyone that political aspirations lurk behind all these projects. Nor does Christians himself deny such aspirations. Therefore let me quote here some characteristic passages from his article:

"Apart from the economic significance of such an industrial zone, we must not underestimate its political influence. From the viewpoint of the inhabitants of West Europe, and in particular Germans, its creation would attest to an obvious turn by the Soviet Union toward a common European future (...) An abolition of the closed zone and the special status of Kaliningrad would not result in a redrawing of the borders but would bear fruit in the creation of a new function for this region through the establishment of an industrial zone within it."

The final conclusion drawn by Christians is as follows: "The Kaliningrad Industrial Zone project could, together with other undertakings, attest firmly to the fact that the Federal Republic is invariably ready to support the Soviet Union in its progress toward the new orientation and the attainment of equally-balanced economic opportunities between Europe's Eastern and Western parts."

Although in an earlier passage Christians assures us that "the proposal to establish an industrial zone is deliberately formulated in a way which precludes any emergence of the suspicion that it conceals an intention to rearrange the postwar borders, having, as it were, gained access through the kitchen door," nevertheless we Poles do not find it difficult to discern the political targets embraced by Germany as it progresses toward unification, despite the smokescreen of all these "pan-European" arguments. We would once again have the German sword—even if it were only an economic sword—suspended over our northeast border, just as it was in the years prior to 1939.

In my opinion, the only way out of the present political situation, given the existing border configuration, is for Poland to promptly open to all possibilities of economic exchange with the Kaliningrad region—despite the obvious disproportions between the economic potential of the Polish Republic and the FRG—before the West German capital enters that area at full steam. After all, Poland, unlike Germany, is the closest neighbor of this area and it provides a natural economic backup for it; moreover, both sides of the border are inhabited by related Slav peoples who, despite the frequently changing tenor of their relationship and a variety of blank spots and black pages in their shared history, did, after all, shed enough blood in their struggle—a struggle in which they were often fighting side by side—with the German "Drang nach Osten" campaign.

I am not an economic expert, but I think that we should promptly begin to take the first steps toward such economic cooperation. For instance, we should quickly open modern and efficient border-crossing points and launch unrestricted and comprehensive (as far as our current capacities allow) trade exchange using these crossings. We already have three railroad border crossings (Braniewo-Mamonovo, Glomno-Bagrationovsk, and Skandawa-Zheleznodorozhnyy), which could be relatively quickly adapted to far more extensive transport requirements than those encountered at present, also including transit shipments of goods from, say, southern Europe. This could be facilitated by the electrification of the Olsztyn-Korsze-Skandawa railroad line, where work on the project is already in progress.

Would it not be possible to rebuild the Elblag-Kaliningrad freeway, since whole sections of it remain in perfectly reasonable condition on both sides of the border? I also think that mutual tightening of ties would be facilitated by the launching of a regular passenger travel network—using at least bus and railroad lines—that would join the Tri-City [Gdansk-Gdynia-Sopot], Elblag, and Olsztyn with Kaliningrad; or even the setting-up of short-distance coach routes between, say, Braniewo and Mamonovo (Swieta Siekierka), or Wegorzewo-Ozersk (Darkiejmy). Could we not envisage a regular Warsaw-Kaliningrad air link? Why should Polish tourists be denied the opportunity to travel for rest and relaxation to the truly beautiful coastline of the Sambia Peninsula, rich in amber and pine forests? It would also be a good move to open passenger boat lines between Gdansk and Kaliningrad. Before World War II vessels of the "white fleet" [pleasure boat lines] cruised from Krolewiec [Kaliningrad] to Gdansk and back along the Vistula Bight and the Szkarpawa and Martwa Wisla rivers—thus avoiding the Bay of Gdansk and the strongly militarized (then as now) Pilawa. Life has demonstrated amply that, traveling across the border as often as they do, both Poles and Russians can be just as good commercial traders as the Germans, albeit on a smaller, individual scale.

Finally, could we not begin to consider launching direct cooperation between the Polish free-trade zones and their future equivalents in the Kaliningrad region? Joint use of the Bight (if only for fishing or oil-prospecting, since oil deposits have just been discovered on the Soviet side) could begin straight away. I think that government economic experts should apply themselves to these questions forthwith.

What will happen if—pulled apart as it is by the secessional aspirations of certain republics, and sinking ever further into the quagmire of political and economic crises—the USSR succumbs to the proposals put forward by Mr. Christians?

Amnesty International Rallies at PRC Embassy

LD0406210290 Warsaw PAP in English 2049 GMT 4 Jun 90

[Text] Warsaw, 4 Jun—Members and supporters of the Amnesty International staged a rally in front of the Chinese Embassy today to mark the first anniversary of the student massacre in Beijing.

The demonstrators, having a permission to do this, protested against the repression of democracy in [the] People's [Republic of] China. Policemen intervened when other groups of youth joined the rally this evening.

People's Alliance: NSF 'Hijacked' Revolution

AU0206161390 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 27 May 90 p 1

["Press Communique" issued by the National Council of the People's Alliance; place and date not given]

[Text] The independent movement, "The National Council of the People's Alliance," incorporating direct participants in the anticommunist revolution of December 1989, decided in the very first days after the revolution to turn into an open opposition movement against those who have taken over power.

From the very first days of January, the members of this association protested peacefully but firmly—through peaceful marches and demonstrations in Victory Square and in front of the television studio—against the group of Ceausescu dissidents and former nomenklatura, who declared themselves as emanations of the revolution.

The revolution that was started on 16 December by youth, and devoted to the whole nation, was hijacked by a single formation—the National Salvation Front [NSF]—which has become the totalitarian power in the state through the 20 May elections.

We view the demonstration begun on 22 April 1990 as a continuation of the ideals of the revolution: Democracy-freedom-dignity.

The decision made by the "National Alliance for the Proclamation of Timisoara," which has been joined by other component movements of the "Alliance", regarding the cessation of the University Square demonstration, is viewed as being disloyal.

The "People's Alliance" Independent Movement decides:

As long as people in University Square are on hunger strike, thus taking the supreme risk so that the ideal of the revolution may triumph, we will be at their side.

We view this decision of ours as an act of dignity and unity with all those who were at our side.

We expect other signatory movements of the Proclamation to join the decision made by the "People's Alliance," which we view as an historic act.

National Council of the People's Alliance

Commission on Differences of Registered Voters

AU0206200290 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1900 GMT 2 Jun 90

[Text] National Statistics Commission statements on difference in figures regarding the number of voters registered in the electoral lists of the 20 May polls and the number of people who actually exercised their rights to vote:

Speculations have been made in connection with the number of voters who were registered in electoral lists reported by the Central Electoral Bureau [CEB] on 17 May during the Intercontinental Hotel news conference—that is, 15,955,619—and the number of voters registered on lists, a result of the centralized data of the account reports of the polling stations—that is, 17,200,722 voters.

The National Statistics Commission communique states: The first figure of 15,955,619 voters, published during the Intercontinental Press Conference on 17 May, was estimated on the basis of incomplete data received by the CEB through telex communications transmitted by electoral bureaus of the constituencies, on 15, 16, and 17 May.

From the very beginning, it was known and it was said during the above news conference that the reported figure did not include military and other Romanian citizens residing abroad and that on the respective day, the figure had a provisional nature because in many polling sections in big municipalities and towns, omissions of blocks of flats and even streets were noted. As a matter of fact, during the above news conference, representative of the National Statistics Commission made the necessary statements, drawing attention to the fact that the number of people who have the right to vote is 16,944,918 inhabitants, to which one must add Romanian citizens residing abroad, which in accordance with the given estimations made the number of voters rise a little above 17 million.

One must also stress the fact that because of the CEB decision to permit voters to vote at any electoral constituency, on the bases of identity papers and through additional registering on the list of the polling sections where they cast their votes, the total number of voters finally registered includes about 150,000 people who were registered both in the lists of their respective addresses— where they did not cast their votes—and in the lists at the polling stations where they actually cast their votes.

The total number of voters registered which finally, on the basis of account reports, was 17,200,722 is the result of the sum of the official reports of the more than 12,400 poling stations. The National Statistics Commission, as an institution which served as the technical organ of the CEB, after compiling the results of the votes, has the data on the final number of registered voters for each of the over 12,400 polling stations, and can place it at the disposal of the press, parties, or any other interested institution.

Bucharest Post Electoral Incident Noted

AU0306200890 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 24 May 90 p 3

[Unattributed editorial note: "It Is Not Quiet Yet"]

[Text] A new conflict between members of various parties broke out on Tuesday, 22 May 1990, at 23:15

[2015 GMT], when a young student, a member of the Bucharest Constructors' Trade Union, was beaten up by a corporal, in front of the National Salvation Front [NSF] headquarters on Magheru Boulevard, which the corporal was guarding. Two other civilians were also involved in the incident. The student was attacked for freely expressing his views, which conflicted with the views of the other two.

Three young people lifted the fallen student and, incited, started shouting: "Down with communism," "Down with Chitac," "Down with Iliescu," and "Criminals." Those who were at the Magheru Boulevard NSF headquarters at that moment panicked and called for "reinforcements." The young people withdraw and returned in about 5-10 minutes. Meanwhile, manifestos were distributed from a private Dacia [make of car], stating that the votes had been falsified and calling on all citizens to come to the University, pretending that the call had been issued on behalf of the University Square demonstrators. Groups of people started running toward the NSF headquarters and shortly 200 people were chanting "Down with Iliescu," "Down with Chitac," "Down with Communism." Suddenly an ARO [make of vehicle] appeared with several officials, and one never knows whether they were members of the new Police or of the new Securitate. These people, discretely mingled with demonstrators.

Suddenly a Dacia appeared in front of the NSF headquarters and Mr. Gelu Voican stepped out of it. After listening to what had happened he said, "We've put ourselves to shame." He refused to comment on the incident.

Mr. Major General Bitlan assured people that the persons guilty of molesting the young student would be punished, in spite of the fact that he disappeared discreetly from the headquarters in a police car, while demonstrators were booing it. Somebody suggested the intervention of the Army (again the Army?!?) but later this suggestion was reconsidered.

Politics, discussed in the "Cina" restaurant and continued in the street, generated an undesired conflict, especially because there were some foreign journalists in front of the NSF headquarters.

At 2403, Mr. Gelu Voican Voiculescu left the NSF headquarters in a white ARO (license number 1-B-22507), the same one which had brought the first "reinforcement." Finally, at 2430 [2130], it was quiet again in the University Square and on Magheru Boulevard.

Group for Social Dialogue Letter to Iliescu

AU0306170090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1541 GMT 3 Jun 90

["Political Life: Another Proposal: The Government Should Not Include Former Communists"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 3/6/1990—The Group for Social Dialogue proposes Romania's president-elect to entrust the formation of the government to a personality who was not a member of the Romanian Communist Party because the majority of those who voted the National Salvation Front were not communists, the group considers. "The same elementary democratic principle" should also guide the formation of the new cabinet, the group opines.

In an open letter addressed to Mr. Iliescu through the agency of its weekly "22," the Group for Social Dialogue assesses that the acceptance of such a proposal, added to which are many others like "the recognition of the fact that the elaboration of the reconstruction strategy is not a monopoly of the government," would give the measure for the contribution of Romania's president-elect to the democratic progress of the country.

The Group for Social Dialogue considers that, through its scope, Mr. Iliescu's victory in elections is "more favorable for the grouping he is leading than for the country's democratic development" and sees in it "the risk of sliding toward the revival of a profoundly antidemocratic institution of a providential leader." "The majority of the electorate that cast their votes for the NSF virtually includes the quasi-totality of the dictatorship's apparatus," the letter shows among other things. "Til May 20 the apparatus was owing you its survival. After May 20 you owe legitimacy to a considerable extent. With this as a basis, the Group for Social Dialogue formulates the warning: "From transitional to stable power has been only one step which could herald the second one: from stabilized power to the irreversible one."

Iliescu Electoral File Submitted for Ratification

AU0406181790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1558 GMT 4 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 4/6/1990—According to Article 77 in the decree-law for the election of Romania's parliament and president no.92/1990, the Central Electoral bureau submitted Mr. Iliescu's electoral file to the Supreme Court for ratification.

The election of Mr. Ion Iliescu by universal, equal, direct and secret poll on the May 20, 1990 elections to Romania's supreme state office is to be ratified by the Supreme Court in its plenum in 20 days since the elections according to Article 81 in the electoral law.

The resolution of the Supreme Court will be presented during the joint meeting of the Assembly of Deputies and the Senate which will be convened in its first meeting on the 20th day after elections when Romania's president is officially announced.

Brasov Association Against Presidential Elections

AU2405145690

[Editorial Report] Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian on 11 May carries on page 3 a 700-word "Communique to the Country" by the "15 November" Association of Brasov, a group that represents the organizers of the "anti-Ceausescu and anticommunist" Brasov demonstrations of 15 November 1987.

Protesting the "presence of the nomenklatura and of other factors interested in preserving the old structures and privileges," the "15 November" Association believes that, "given the current profound political crisis," the country "does not need a president until a new constitution is adopted." Consequently, it asks that the presidential elections be "canceled" and that the "parliamentary system to result from free and democratic elections should govern the country," with the "issue of the presidency to be resolved after the drafting of the constitution."

Hunger Strikers Urged To Accept Hospitalization

AU0206201490 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 29 May 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Our Dignified and Courageous Brothers of Struggle"]

[Text] The "21 December" Association of Bucharest, incorporating active participants in the 21 December 1989 revolution, which has constantly contributed to the holding of the "Demonstration of Hooligans" in University Square, declares its firm determination to continue the struggle for establishing democracy in Romania.

Thus, it holds identical positions with those of the hunger strikers in University Square. Their courageous and dignified struggle has led to a strong reaction in the awareness of the nation, thus constituting a victory.

Each person enjoys the basic right to decide on the form of expressing his convictions. Similarly, each person has the basic right to decide on his own life. Respecting these rights, the "21 December" Association in Bucharest has contributed to the physical protection of the hunger strikers and has morally supported them.

The road of our struggle is still a long one and requires as many forces as possible. The supreme sacrifice of the hunger strikers would deprive us of their important contribution to our joint struggle.

Therefore, given their current particularly critical situation, we appeal to our dignified and courageous brothers in the struggle to renounce such a form of protest, which has achieved the aims of this period anyhow. In any case, we are convinced that—as they have done so far—they will blend their courage with reason and will accept hospitalization.

Regardless of what decision the hunger strikers in University Square take, the members of "21 December" Association of Bucharest will support them morally and ensure their physical protection through constant picketing.

"21 December" Association of Bucharest, chairman, Alexandru Nancu

Communique Supports 'Hooligans' Demonstration

AU0206164290 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 27 May 90 pp 1,4

[Communique issued by the 21 December Association, Independent Group for Democracy, Students League, and Architectural Students Association; place and date not given]

[Text] Since 22 April 1990, the "Demonstration of Hooligans" has been constantly going on—day and night—in Bucharest's University Square.

Between this demonstration on the one hand and the revolutionary actions of 21 December 1989 on the other, there is a continuity in the participants, area, forms of action and aspirations, a fact that bestows full legitimacy on the "Demonstration of the Hooligans."

The bodies of the provisional power have responded to this rational opposition of the demonstrators with a constant contrary attitude, because:

1. They have placed the struggle for power above the interests of the nation.
2. They have not solved the problems of national interest that were brought to their attention, an action that would have demonstrated their adherence to the aspirations of the revolution and to those who have created the conditions for establishing a new state power.
3. They have refused the dialogue proposed by the demonstrators to seek ways and means to fulfill the aspirations of the December 1989 revolution.
4. They have turned University Square, as well as other places in the country where there are such demonstrations, into areas of new repression by making use of the same communist force and methods.
5. They have not adopted a humane attitude toward those who have chosen to struggle until they die through hunger strikes in order to achieve the ideals for freedom and democracy.

As active and constant participants in the "Hooligans' Manifesto" and as signatories to the Proclamation of Timisoara, we express the unshakeable determination to continue this protest by firmly demanding the removal of the communist ruling structures and declaring ourselves the irreconcilable adversaries of any form of totalitarianism.

However, in view of risking a deterioration in health of the hunger strikers or of their loss of life, which is intolerable to us, our conscience and status of rational human beings make us resort to new forms of this protest until the new state bodies actually take over power (in 20 days), because at this point, the country's provisional leadership is virtually dissolved.

Therefore, we propose that the demonstration be turned into a periodical protest as follows:

—We will be present, as we have been up to now, on the barricades on the 21st of each month throughout the year in memory of our heroes.
—We will also be present in University Square each Thursday afternoon, a symbolic day that has entered the country's history—the Thursday of 21 December 1989.

Our demands—which will not change—have to be solved in the first working meeting of the new parliament.

"The Demonstration of the Hooligans" will continue—invincibly and even stronger—in these new forms and it will win!

"21 December" Association of Bucharest; Independent Group for Democracy; Students' League; and Architectural Students' Association

University Square Demonstrations Continue 3 Jun

AU0306180590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1651 GMT 3 Jun 90

["Political Life—Marathon Demonstration in University Square"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 3/6/1990—Sunday at 17:00 hours [1400 GMT] Bucharest's University Square continues to be blocked by the unauthorized demonstration staged here for more than one month. Several hundred people were listening to various speakers who addressed them by a microphone installed on a platform in front of the National Theater building. The speakers referred to personal claims with emphasis on the injustice they had to cope with before the December revolution. They also gave their points of view on the May 20 elections criticizing the NSF [National Salvation Front], the Government and Mr. Ion Iliescu. Among other things they demanded the government's approval of the installation of an independent television station.

A group of demonstrators left then, like the previous day, for the embassies of the U.S.A. and the USSR and the television building.

Peaceful Demonstrations at Chinese Embassy

AU0406184990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1745 GMT 4 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 4/6/1990—On Monday [4 June] a group of about 50 demonstrators manifested peacefully in front of the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in Bucharest to mark a year since the events in the Tienanmen Square in Beijing. The demonstrators represented the Architecture Students' Association, the Independent Group for Democracy, the December 21 Association, and the Students' league.

While funeral marches could be heard from loudspeakers mounted on a Dacia car, the audience knelt in front of the Embassy entrance and laid wreaths on the pavement, observing a moment's silence. The participants in the demonstration were wearing white bands on their heads, the Chinese mourning sign.

Iliescu Chairs NSF Steering Collegium Meeting

AU0306175590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1636 GMT 3 Jun 90

["Political Life—Meeting of NSF Central Active"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 3/5/1990—A recent enlarged meeting of the Steering Collegium and Central Active of the National Salvation Front (NSF) chaired by Mr. Ion Iliescu, NSF president, surveyed the current political and socioeconomic situation in the country, and analyzed the administrative and state power structures on a central and local plane in the new context after the May 20, 1990 elections.

Organizational questions were also discussed, the decision being made that the NSF Steering Collegium include other members among whom Mr. Petre Roman.

Aftermath of 30-31 May Earthquake Assessed

AU0406143490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0944 GMT 4 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 4/6/1990—In Braila County, the two quakes on May 30 and 31, 1990 caused the death of three citizens and the wounding of 68, of which 11 are in a serious conditions, the county mayorship reported.

Centralized data show that 77 old buildings were damaged, among which one county museum, the house of art collections, the High School of Medicine and the high school "Gh. Munteanu Murgoci," the General School No.16, the kindergarten 32 and two churches. Material damage is estimated at about ten million lei. A commission was set up for the registration of all complaints made by citizens and economic units on the damage caused by the two tremors. There are also six commissions which check the situation created on the level of the municipality and set appropriate measures.

At the "Electrocentrale" enterprise, the generating sets of 210 and 350 MW were affected by vibrations but they were put again into operation after a coupe of hours, now working at capacity.

Twenty open lines and 15 transformer plants were also damaged just as the methane supply system.

The recent earthquake and its aftershocks could also be badly felt in Craiova, stated Mr. Engineer Emil Tugui, mayor of Dolj County. More particularly the low-comfortable blocks of flats were damaged, where cracks in the masonry occurred and even ceilings fell down, which makes them unlivable.

The commissions set up on the occasion and the county mayorship of Craiova decided to distribute the afflicted 120 flats.

The low-comfortable blocks of flats which sum up 3,000 apartments will urgently be submitted to complex actions of doubling their comfort and of consolidating them to resist to other possible tremors.

Independent Trade Unions Contest NCFTUR

AU0406143690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0902 GMT 4 Jun 90

["Social Life—The Independent Trade Unions Attack"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 4/6/1990—On behalf of 850,000 members, the representatives of the Independent Trade unions present at the third meeting in Brasov on May 31, 1990 endorsed a declaration which contests the legality and national representativeness of the National Confederation of Free Trade Unions of Romania (NCFTUR) organized on the basis of the former General Trade Unions Confederation of Romania (GTUCR). The document requests the General Prosecutor's Office of Romania "special appeal against the civil sentence" pronounced by the Bucharest Court whereby the NCFTUR was granted juridical personality by violating the law. The document also requests the government to get back on its decision whereby it enabled the NCFTUR to take over "the whole patrimony and accounts in lei and hard currency of the former GTUCR" thus infringing the law and affecting the interests of 7.5 million trade unionists.

Timisoara 'Genocide' Trail To Resume 5 Jun

AU0406181590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1621 GMT 4 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 4/6/1990—The Supreme Court resumes in Timisoara tomorrow [5 June] the trial of the group of defendants former members of the Executive Political Committee of the Central Committee [CC] of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP], decision makers in the State Security Department, Securitate and Militia officers, other persons charged with genocide, abetting genocide and other offenses committed over 17-22 December 1989 in the town where the revolution against the Ceausescu dictatorship and the communist regime in Romania started.

The Timisoara trial started on 2 March with the hearing of a first group of 21 defendants, another case of four people charged with carrying into effect the measures of bloody repression of the demonstrators in Timisoara set during the 17 December 1989 meeting of the Executive Political Committee being subsequently added to the former one: Ion Coman and Ilie Matei, ex-members of the Executive Political Committee and secretaries of the CC of the RCP, Cornel Pacoste, former alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, deputy prime minister, Radu Balan, former alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, first secretary of the Timis County RCP Committee.

The trial was adjourned on 11 May for new evidence to be brought.

Various Journalists Unions, Association Established

Professional Journalists Union

AU2405124790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0816 GMT 24 May 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 24/5/1990—The Union of Professional Journalists was registered in Bucharest as juristic person. It was formed based on adhesions expressed by participants in the congress of the Journalists' Society, held in early May, in Brasov. The county branches of the union have started being formed.

A news conference with Romanian and foreign journalists is announced for May 24, in connection with the setting up of another organization the Democratic Journalists' Union of Romania.

Democratic Journalists Union

AU2405170590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1633 GMT 24 May 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 24/5/1990—The Democratic Journalists' Union has been set up in Romania.

An organization parallel with the professional Journalists' Union of Romanian a representative of the union specified at a press conference, the Democratic Journalists' Union—set up at the beginning of this month—aims at fighting for a fair information of the readers, against the political pollution of public opinion, the press manipulation by the power bodies, at acquiring printing and distribution means, at protecting journalists against any political discrimination or marginalization, at promoting young journalists. President of the Provisional Council of the Union is P. M. Bacanu of daily "ROMANIA LIBERA."

Hungarian Journalists Association

AU2905150490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1219 GMT 29 May 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 29/5/1990—Over 25-27 May the town of Miercurea Ciuc hosted the foundation conference of the Hungarian Journalists' Association of Romania [HJAR], a professional and creation organization of the journalists writing in Hungarian.

The new organization is founded not on an ethnical but on a linguistic criterion which means that it is open to any writer in Romania who uses Hungarian, irrespective of his nationality. The HJAR is an autonomous component of the Professional Journalists' Union of Romania.

Besides the principle of professional unity, the HJAR acknowledges and accepts another fundamental principle of the journalists' society of Romania: The non-political character. The association rejects, through its very statute, any membership or subordination, directly or indirectly, to any governmental, confessional or political institution or organization.

Free Cooperative Farmers Associations

AU2905150690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1212 GMT 29 May 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 29/5/1990—The measures for the reorganization of agriculture in Romania resulted in the immediate creation of a powerful sector of small agricultural producers, who now own roughly one- third of the country's arable area. So far, 130 free associations of private farmers, including 20,000 families or so, were set up.

The target of their activity for the time being is joint work on the agricultural terrains owned by farmers. The creation of the new associations relies on the contracts concluded among small agricultural farmers. Inter alia, they include each farmer's contribution in land, the volume of works he has to perform and the criteria and the way of distributing products and profits, which are commensurate with the value of the assets contributed to the association and with the work done by each of them.

The free associations of private farmers boast full autonomy and their own bank accounts. Operating as units with judicial personality, they carry on their activity on the basis of programmes and income-and-spending budgets, which are approved by their assemblies.

Positive Results Needed From Economic Sector

AU0206160390 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 26 May 90 pp 1, 3

[Sorin Stefan article: "Harmful Waiting"]

[Excerpts] The emergence from an ambiguous situation is extremely difficult, while the emergence from waiting and indecisiveness is very painful. Now everybody is awaiting great well-being and great wealth as if these could happen all by themselves.

Socialism was able to exist only through constant terror. When it stopped, we found ourselves in a situation where no one driving us with a whip, but neither were we given a piece of sugar. After putting an end to terror, and in the absence of a proper incentive that would make people work and especially work better than before, many people entered an extremely dangerous state of passivity. [passage omitted]

Today even less is produced throughout the country than during the dictatorship. [passage omitted]

We have reached a difficult crossroads. From the bottom of our hearts, we want to have it better, but no one is working as he should. This applies to the miners, who have yielded ridiculous coal outputs; to the peasants, who have neglected their lands even more because of a new wave of migration from villages to towns, and it applies to the workers, who have worked with two-thirds of their usual profitability. Many people are living proof of a chronic reluctance to work. The results match the lack of effort. [passage omitted]

Therefore, for the time being, well-being seems to be an illusion rather than anything else, especially since the way to achieve it is only by daydreaming about it.

Lacking the experience of a free society, we are naturally afraid of the prospects it can offer. The fear of the future was fanned by the brazen propaganda that stressed its defects and kept quiet about its advantages, which are actually much more numerous. "We voted for our peace"—one could hear, in an obsessive way, on television within the framework of the pro-National Salvation Front [NSF] propaganda, which—by the way—was not very subtle, and which was spread by the television on the day of the elections." [passage omitted]

We reject socialism, yet we cannot forget the relative security it used to offer us. Western consumer society, with all its defects, will not cease, however, to appear to us like a mirage. Finally, we should have understood that the two systems—socialism and capitalism—are incompatible and, at the same time, we should have given preference to the wealth made possible by the latter.

Now, however, after the historic parties have been rejected from the leadership of the country, the probability that the policy of the NSF government will be a communist-oriented one is rather great. [passage omitted]

If the government does not take immediate measures so that the Romanian economy yields positive results in the very near future, our break with the civilized countries will be irreparable. Tension in our society will increase and will lead to interminable strikes. [passage omitted]

In order to pull people out of their passivity, we have to offer them prospects for rapidly improving their standard of living. This will be possible only if we urgently revamp industry, technologically, in order to make it competitive; in this respect, we have numerous possibilities. We can resort to credits; however, we went through a bitter experience during the dictatorship; or, once again, we can try to solve everything "under our own steam," but we no longer have enough time to take it from scratch in the area of research; or we can finally resort to a third solution—which has chances and may yield positive results in the shortest time possible—namely, to bring in foreign capital.

He who is going to make the investment will make sure that work is organized and workers are stimulated in such a way that all of us may profit from it. [passage omitted]

To stay in power, the government has to import more and more things to meet our people's needs, which are constantly increasing, quantitatively and especially qualitatively.

Another solution would obviously be to ignore these needs completely and to try to reeducate people in the spirit of the "work cult" by once again turning our country into an enormous camp under the leadership of a "wise tyrant."

ROMPRES Assesses Import-Export Contracts

AU0106154490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1501 GMT 1 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 1/6/1990—By virtue of the commercial contracts signed of late, Romania will import from various countries like Greece, Italy and South Korea some 180,000 colour television sets as well as several component parts to be assembled in the specialty enterprise "Electronica" of Bucharest.

The transactions concluded by the foreign trade enterprise "Metalexportimport" provide for the delivery to Japan of considerable quantities of steel sheets worth three million dollars as well as aluminum rolled goods worth 1.7 million dollars.

Since the Romanian foreign trade enterprise "Electronum" won the international auctions financed by the IBRD [International Bank for Reconstruction and Development] and organized by Brazilian firms and enterprises, the Romanian firm has recently received an export order for aluminum-steel electric wires worth 2.5 million dollars or so.

Other commercial transactions refer to the export of glassware worth five million dollars to the USA by the foreign trade enterprise "Romsit," as well as of spare parts amounting to over 1.8 million dollars for the 125 trolleybuses Romania delivered to Colombia.

MDUR Branch News Conference on Trianon Treaty

AU0206192890 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1700 GMT 2 Jun 90

[Text] The Timisoara branch of the Magyar Democratic Union of Romania [MDUR] organized a news conference at the Timisoara Press Club, in order to curb the rumors about manifestations organized on the 70th anniversary of the Trianon Treaty. On this occasion, the participants in the news conference were informed that both the MDUR Timisoara branch and the other branches distance themselves from the manifestos issued in Timisoara and from the invitation issued by Istvan Zolcsok, to gather Hungarian ethnics in Europe on 2 June in Timisoara Municipality.

Within this context, the MDUR has also taken certain measures in order to prevent and avoid some disturbances that might take place on this occasion. The entire population of Timisoara Municipality, as well as from neighboring localities is being urged to in no way respond to the provocations and initiatives that cannot bring any service to Hungarian citizens in Romania.

Japanese Economic Delegation Visits

AU0406185090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1735 GMT 4 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 4/6/1990—A 19-member delegation representing various Japanese companies headed by Zenji Umeda [spelling as received], co-chairman in the Romanian-Japanese Economic Council, arrived in Bucharest on Monday [4 June] and stated that the purpose of their visit "is to directly get acquainted with Romania's economic situation and to contribute to the development of the trade relations between the two countries". The members of the delegation will meet with representatives of several economic ministries in our country.

In his turn, Ioan Emil Vasiliu, deputy minister of foreign trade, who welcomed the Japanese guests stated: "we are interested to develop the multifarious collaboration with the Japanese side. We wish to find together the possibilities to cooperate with Japanese companies, to attract investment of Japanese capital in the Romanian economy, especially for the modernization and retechnologization of industrial branches."

This is the first delegation of Japanese businessmen to visit Romania after the December 1989 revolution.

* Voiculescu Reviews Political Activity

90BA0130D Bucharest DIMINEATA in Romanian 19 May 90 p 6

[Interview with Gelu Voican Voiculescu by Doina Diaconu; place and date not given: "Nothing Is More Credible Than Truth"]

[Text] [Diaconu] What are the salient elements of your education, beliefs, and ideological position?

[Voiculescu] Had there not been the conflicts with the authorities of a state based on police repression and later on terror as the supreme doctrine of a regime of totalitarian dictatorship, my life before the Revolution would have been dull and uneventful, with indistinct "salient" elements. Regarding my ideological position, precisely those clashes with the oppressive official system played a decisive role. Consequently, when it comes to defining my "ideological position," we need to distinguish a few nuances. Only five months have passed and, ignoring the meaning of words, we are beginning to retroactively distort reality: What ideological position are we talking about?

[Diaconu] About the option of whether to be a Communist or not.

[Voiculescu] About the Hamlet-like option of whether to be or not to be a Communist, your question generates and launches a false problem. Before 22 December, did anyone have any option about being a Communist? The Communist doctrine had not had any supporters for a long time, no one was versed in and convinced of dialectical materialism and the Marxist-Leninist theory. Even the mandarins and the potentates of the nomenklatura didn't have an option about being Communists, in other words they did not believe in and had no passion for such ideas. As a doctrine, Communism was so detested and compromised that it couldn't serve even them as an ideological basis. The RCP [Romanian Communist Party] members, deprived of any ideological option, were nothing but fakers who sang hosannas to some doctrinary rudiments, some fashionable stereotypes, in order to secure a dominating position at the expense of those who were not party members. Consequently, rather than being Communists and supporters of certain ideas and of a doctrine, the party members in Romania were nothing but individuals motivated by a natural desire to succeed, willing to make the minimum concession of joining a party for which they did nothing but pay their membership dues, in order to enjoy various privileges. It would be too much to simplistically label all of them as profiteers, opportunists, or self-promoters only because of this compromise. At the most they can be described as self-promoters in the least pejorative sense of the word, because anyone who wanted to succeed socially and to secure certain jobs or positions, even minor ones, automatically had to join the party. But leaving aside the fact that the party membership was used as a means of competing with others, professional fulfillment was often predicated on that concession. I repeat, this entire pseudo-elite of party members, "cadre reserves," and nomenklatura were completely ignorant about Marxism. It is true that the latter may be viewed as servile and docile Communists. Even Ceausescu himself, motivated only by a perfect thirst for power and blinded by the obsession of personal authority, flagrantly deviated from the Marxist principles and practically dissolved the party, turning it into a piece of fiction, an amorphous and obedient mass, over which a family clique arbitrarily reigned. Everything was reduced to the exercise of power for the sake of power. Thus, the Romanians never subscribed to the Communism that was imposed on them. Going back to your question, instead of asking me about my ideological position, you should have asked whether I stooped to prostituting myself and joining the party membership farce in exchange for a modicum of privileges and advantages, or whether I had the dignity to endure together with the majority of the population the rigors of a regime of terror and pharaonic oppression. As far as I am concerned, I can plainly answer that I was one of those who rejected and uncompromisingly boycotted any pact with the authorities; I intransigently rejected any concession and resigned myself to enduring all the limitations inherent in that option. I was not a member of the Communist Youth, because in the 1950's the majority of the students in my class violently rejected membership in that organization. I still remember the horror of our homeroom teacher when he learned that we ostentatiously and en bloc broke our adherence. He implored us to show moderation so that he wouldn't land in jail. At the age of 16 and a half I was admitted to the IPGG [Institute for Petroleum, Gas, and Geology] Geology School; in 1959 (at the age of 18) I was expelled, in a famous meeting, as "a representative of internal reaction hand in hand with foreign reaction." I was classified as a hostile element and a dangerous propagandist among the youth, because I did not humiliate myself with self-criticism and did not beg for leniency, but on the contrary, I answered the inquisitors in the presidium with all the foolish rebelliousness typical of that age. After being "purified" by one year in a working environment, when I worked as a welder, I managed to complete my studies in 1963 (at the age of 22) at the Geology School. I remained consistent, resisting the temptation of party ascent and easily turning down proposals by simply recalling that initial incident. Evidently, if I had wanted to succeed through political means, that obstacle would have been easily overcome. After 1970, when I was for the first time arrested for treason by divulging secrets—in the end I was not convicted for lack of proof—I was able to easily explain not joining the party because of that experience. After 1977, when I was once again arrested for a short time in connection with Paul Goma's movement and my general attitude toward the issue of human rights, obviously no one ever suggested again that I join the party. I was put under permanent supervision by the Securitate; my situation worsened progressively, and in 1985 I was arrested and, in order not to have to convict me for "propaganda against the socialist system" according to Article 166 paragraph 1 of the Penal Code, I was put on trial for some common law felonies fabricated ad hoc according to well-known procedures, and sentenced to one and a half years. Having been pardoned one year later, in 1986, I continued to be watched. In 1988 my house was once again searched and 100 books were confiscated; recently, in August 1989, another search ended with the confiscation of 60 books. As for my education and profession, which you mentioned in the first part of your question, although I have a diploma as a geologist, I did not work as such in any specialized institution. I worked as a geologist on an oil rig, then at a research and design institute. After my first arrest I was hired by the Writers Union for the magazine VIATA ROMANEASCA, where I worked as a proof reader and in the editorial secretariat. Three months later I transferred to mining planning where, as a geologist, I was drafting geotechnical studies for sites and foundations. As you see, a mundane and banal career consciously scuttled; I worked mostly in auxiliary fields, not to say marginal. The uneventful life of an average employee in a socialist institution, marked by cynical indifference and the inertia of routine. Being completely lacking in career ambitions and pretensions, I made it only to the mediocre position of principal engineer grade III.

[Diaconu] After this theoretical expose, followed by a short autobiography, allow me to ask in what area you nevertheless expressed your incontestable intellectual vocation. Outside your profession?

[Voiculescu] Once again, I must answer by recalling the coercive and repressive measures taken by the Securitate against me. It was precisely my extra-professional interests that aroused the fear and interest of that omnipresent establishment. Although I was studying the morphology of ancient civilizations, the history of ancient traditional and oriental doctrines and their spiritual techniques, and the evolution of esoteric societies with initiation rites, in one word, areas that had nothing to do with the sphere of interests of the Securitate, the latter, obsessed by fear and irritated by ignorance, consistently harassed me, suspecting me of subversion and conspiracy. This translated in frequent annoyances, staged incidents, searches, followed by the confiscation of bibliographical material and manuscripts. After being implicated in the human rights affair at the time of Goma, my relations with people like Mircea Radulescu, Vasile Lovinescu, Paul Barba Neagra, Mihai Nasta, Odalis Perez, and others also became suspicious... To me they were harmless people, but not to them... There was also interference in my less innocent relations with real dissidents like George Gugea, or with potential dissidents like Aurel Dragos Munteanu. On the other hand, being extremely sensitive to anything related to the circulation of documents, the Securitate was naturally worried about the fact that I photocopied thousands of books I needed for the studies in which I was interested. All those things, coupled with other aspects, combined to make me be viewed as a potentially hostile element. And after all, they were not far wrong.

[Diaconu] How do you reconcile your propensity for study and reflective spirit with the image of a determined man of action in which you appeared as a statesman?

[Voiculescu] Any possible contradiction is only apparent. Both aspects, the dynamic aspect of the man of action and the static aspect of the reflecting man can merge into one at a given time. First of all, because of the harsh confrontation in competition with the pitiless investigation of the Securitate that violated my life and raped my intimate existence, in the past 20 years I was forced to learn how to survive. This reaction served to teach and thoroughly train me how to behave like a "man of action," as you put it. On the other hand, the Revolution, by virtue of its intrinsic nature, made me use and bring to the fore precisely those qualities that turned out to be necessary now, too, when I hold a position in the state. At the same time, this aspect has also been greatly exaggerated, being more facile and more visible, by press reports of some myths based on a simplified pattern, when they had no intentionally malicious connotation. Rest assured that even in the new, tense and unpredictable situations in which I was placed by my function as deputy prime minister, I needed profound meditation and coherent thinking that were derived from the reflective nature of the studious man, accustomed more to the company of books than with the pragmatic aspects of life.

[Diaconu] What is the forecast for your political future, particularly since you are also known as an astrologer? What do you foresee for yourself?

[Voiculescu] Aside from the fact that I have no time for that, no one is a prophet in his own country...

[Diaconu] But if you are not elected, given the current context of privatization, do you feel attracted by entrepreneurship? Do you have any particular wish?

[Voiculescu] Yes! A life...

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* Dangers in Iliescu Election Cited

90BA0130C Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 17 May 90 pp 1, 4

[Mihai Enescu article: "Two Provisional Presidents: Romanians, Be Careful!"]

[Text] Mr. Ion Iliescu, the chairman of the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC] is making a great fuss in his totalitarian electoral campaign over the feats he allegedly accomplished since last December. Feats? What feats? Facts? What facts? We can show facts, Mr. Iliescu says, distancing himself from the others (who these others are, we haven't been told) who do nothing but talk. This is another example of the defective elementary logic that accompanies Mr. Iliescu like a shadow.

Has anyone in the country, other than himself, had an opportunity to do anything? And what are the achievements for which he thinks people ought to kiss his hand? Electrical power? For two months we received free power from the RFG [expansion not given]. After which the price of electrical power became excessively high. Naturally, because it was brought up to a natural level. Food? It didn't come either from Mr. Ion Iliescu, or from Prime Minister Petre Roman. It came from the foreigners who sent tens of thousands of wagons of aid, aid that disappeared into thin air like the terrorists. The rest of the food, the bits of food that we sometimes still find in our miserable sexy groceries (sexy because they're usually bare) is imported for a lot of money, which we will sweat to pay back. By what we have heard, about $700 million have already been spent in only four months! If we continue like this, letting Mr. Ion Iliescu make electoral investments instead of organizing agriculture, how much would we have spent in one year? An enormous amount, which can only scare us. Freedom? What has been done has been done in less than half measures and in the most typical Communist style (see the counterdemonstrations organized by Mr. Ion Iliescu's collaborators beginning with 28 January 1990, and the repression of the University Square demonstrators on the morning of 24 April 1990). The organization of a civilized electoral campaign? The National—Christian and Democratic—Peasant Party [NPP] has not been allowed to carry out its electoral campaign anywhere. The same happened with other parties of great democratic traditions; consequently, the democratic process was consciously and maliciously curtailed. Has Mr. Ion Iliescu achieved social harmony? Not by a long shot: Workers have been incited against intellectuals and students... Has Mr. Ion Iliescu solved the nationalities problem? On the contrary, he has painfully complicated it. Has Mr. Ion Iliescu reorganized industry? No, at the moment we are producing less than at this time last year. Agriculture? Decree No. 42/1990 signed by Mr. Ion Iliescu seriously disrupted village life, something that will dramatically affect our next year's "rational" diet. Which means that we will still be standing in line! And what about tourism? We're asking this because, as we all know, this year, after the extraordinary revolutionary act of December that won us the world's appreciation, we had an opportunity to receive more visitors, thus securing an important amount of hard currency. But nothing was done along this line, either, and, because of the atmosphere of political violence and terror prevailing in the country, Western tourists will again travel to Spain, Yugoslavia, or Greece. And what did Mr. Ion Iliescu do in the area of foreign relations? Nothing other than what his mentor Ceausescu did! He squashed and eroded Romania's prestige, which it had won cum laude in December, down to its pre-revolutionary level, something that is very damaging.

We will stop here, although the list is long. Mr. Ion Iliescu worked and continues to work, with a stubborness that only the Communists and their dictators evinced in history, to stay in power. As long as possible and at any cost. That and nothing more. And let us not forget that our PNUC chairman is still provisional. We can easily imagine the revolutionary resolution with which the police of potential President Ion Iliescu will act after the elections. And what will our democracy look like with a President Ion Iliescu, who for more than three weeks has been refusing to talk to the fighters of the December Revolution who are now demonstrating in University Square; what will our democracy look like under a President Ion Iliescu and a party—the National Salvation Front [NSF]—that refuses to talk and allows 70 people to die in a hunger strike? We suspect that the Securitate, too, nicely restored to its pre-16 December apparatus, will be revived! Ah, to think of all the things that will happen under an Iliescu presidency and NSF government! We will even have roses....

In as many months and also under a provisional government, in another former socialist country, another president secured exceptional achievements for his country. Why was Vaclav Havel capable of doing that and Mr. Ion Iliescu isn't? Why did Havel obtain most-favored-nation status from the United States, reaped successes in Paris and London, visited Jerusalem, hosted even the Pope from Rome, while Mr. Ion Iliescu couldn't go anywhere and none of the important leaders of the world came to see him? Why was there no conflict between Czechs and Slovaks, while blood was spilled in Tirgu Mures? Why did the electoral campaign in Czechoslovakia begin with a non-aggression pact, while in Romania it brought misery and violence? Why is there quiet and civilized relations in Czechoslovakia, while in Romania led by Mr. Ion Iliescu and his NSF we have a reign of intolerance and a reactivation of all the malefic forces of communism and of the dictatorship deposed at the cost of enormous sacrifices? Why do politicians from the entire world go to Prague, Warsaw, and Budapest to win political capital, but not to Bucharest to talk to Mr. Ion Iliescu? Why is democracy being scrupulously introduced in Czechoslovakia, while in our country the neocommunist NSF party led by Mr. Ion Iliescu spares no means to destroy the new forces of democracy, beginning with the best organized among them, the NPP? Why does Mr. Vaclav Havel enjoy a good press in the West and everywhere in the world, while Mr. Ion Iliescu and his team suffer an unfavorable treatment not only there, but unfortunately also in Romania, precisely because of this provisional presidency and neocommunist government?

The answer is simple: Mr. Vaclav Havel, the writer, never was and is not a communist, while Mr. Ion Iliescu was and is a communist.

P.S. There was a protest in Wenceslas Square in Prague: Seven young people staged a hunger strike to have the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] banned. Mr. Vaclav Havel did not hesitate to go talk to them man to man.

There is mass protest in University Square in Bucharest. Tens of thousands of people have for over three weeks been staging the longest mass demonstration in European history. Against the backdrop of growing protests, the political and social crisis in Romania is deepening. In the meantime, Mr. Ion Iliescu sends in armed police as if it were war time, insults the demonstrators, and systematically refuses to talk to them. The Romanian drama is spreading!

Two presidents. Unfortunately, the one called Ion Iliescu is Romania's president...

* University Square Demonstrators 'Declaration'

90BA0130A Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 18 May 90 pp 1, 5

["Declaration" issued on behalf of the University Square demonstrators by various associations; place and date not given]

[Text] In view of the fact that in December 1989 the Romanian people rose against an inhumane government regime;

Taking into consideration the fact that lives were tragically lost for that purpose, and that those lives will no longer allow anyone to continue to accept compromises regarding the elimination of Communist organizations or any form of totalitarian government;

Taking into account the circumstance that among all the revolutionary events of December 1989, the struggle waged by demonstrators on 21 December 1989 in Bucharest, Sibiu, Cluj, Brasov, Tirgu Mures, Arad, Craiova, Cugir, Galati, and other localities was of an exceptional importance;

Also taking into account the fact that on the day and night of 21 December 1989 University Square was undeniably the main venue of expression of the Romanian people's aspirations for a democratic system of government;

In view of the fact that the revolutionary events of December 1989 (among which the University Square events were an integral part) were the factor that brought about the removal of the dictatorial authorities and created conditions for the existence of the current provisional bodies of power;

Noting that the participants in the revolutionary events of 21-22 December 1989 fully demonstrated, on that occasion, the sincerity of their patriotic convictions;

Pointing out the undeniable continuity of location, participants, means of struggle, and aspirations between the tragic events of 21-22 December 1989 in University Square and the peaceful demonstration that spontaneously began in the last 10 days of April 1990 and has been continuing without interruption (day and night) since then in the same square;

Also observing that, in these conditions, recognition of the legitimacy of the revolutionary actions of December 1989 inevitably applies to the actions of the participants in the present peaceful demonstration in University Square, most of whom were in the same place in the night of 21-22 December 1989, chanting identical slogans;

Stressing that there are no differences between the forms of struggle used in December 1989 and those used by the peaceful demonstrators of University Square and that consequently, what was not harmful then cannot be harmful now;

Considering that an increasing number of peaceful demonstrators in other cities are expressing their solidarity with these demonstrators;

Taking into account the fact that after 22 December 1989 Romania has gradually but consistently been drawing away from the initial general aspirations of the revolutionary movement of December 1989, something that caused the dissatisfaction of millions of citizens who subscribed to the Proclamation of Timisoara of 11 March 1990 (a document that sums up these aspirations), forming the National Alliance for the Proclamation of Timisoara;

In view of the fact that even after 22 December 1989 basic human rights—previously recognized by this country by joining, among other things, the International Treaty on Civil and Political Rights adopted by the UN General Assembly, and the Final Act of the Vienna Meeting of Representatives of the States Attending the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe adopted on 15 January 1989—continue to be violated in Romania;

Taking into consideration, along this line, the fact that the current bodies of the provisional power constantly hinder the exercise of the right to freedom of expression of civic and political opinion, the right to peaceful assembly, the right to free association, and other similar rights;

In view of the fact that the provisional bodies of power systematically disinform the public about the real meaning and requests of the peaceful demonstrators in University Square and in other cities;

Noting the systematic refusal of the provisional bodies of power to discuss any demand concerning the removal from power (from legislative, administrative, and judicial bodies, from the prosecutor's office, army, police, and securitate) of the paid nomenklatura of the former Romanian Communist Party, guilty of initiating, promoting, and maintaining a consistently inhumane policy that culminated in genocide;

In view of the insults, slander, and threats repeatedly directed at University Square peaceful demonstrators and at those who expressed their solidarity with them in other cities by representatives of the provisional bodies of power;

Taking into consideration the violence, abuses, and other illegal procedures wielded by the police against University Square peaceful demonstrators, especially on the morning of 24 April 1990;

In view of the fact that the provisional bodies of power have been tolerating acts of denigration, threats, provocation, and sometimes even violence practiced in various cities by groups, forces, or persons against demonstrators who showed solidarity with the people in the University Square;

Once again emphasizing that University Square peaceful demonstrators and those who are in solidarity with them in other cities are not involved in the electoral campaign because, on the one hand, their objective is to remove all forms of totalitarian government (including communism), and on the other, that all the parties or political groups in Romania have explicitely declared in their platforms that they want to struggle for a complete break with the communist political, economic, and social system;

And finally, in view of the warning issued by the provisional bodies of power about an imminent action by the forces of order against those who, like on 21-22 December 1989 are once again in University Square in Bucharest, using the same peaceful means and chanting identical slogans for eliminating communism and establishing democracy in Romania.

The peaceful demonstrators in University Square, voicing the wishes of those who are in solidarity with them in other cities in the country

Declare:

We ask to be immediately put under the direct protection of international public opinion and of the United Nations, whereby the latter should suggest specific forms of such protection, without in any way interfering with Romania's sovereignty, integrity, and freedom. 16 May 1990

On behalf of the University Square demonstrators in Bucharest: The 21 December Association of Bucharest; the Students' League; the Independent Group for Democracy; the 16-21 December Association.

* Need for Economic, Political Compromise

90BA0129B Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 12 May 90 p 1

[Paul Gheorghiu article: "The Last Alternative Is Compromise"]

[Text] We find ourselves in a situation of political crisis unique in East Europe. Naturally, we are trying to straighten out our spine after a Communist dictatorship that almost annihilated us as a nation. Above and beyond inherent events and the serious political and economic mistakes made by the current government, the crisis is also caused by the fact that a considerable part of the population—so far almost five million signatories of the Proclamation of Timisoara—deny the right of activists of the defunct party to continue to lead this country, even for a transitional period. Naturally, the five million Romanians who oppose the participation in the elections of those who made it their profession to serve the doctrine of a party of oppression and who, among other things, brought us on the brink of an existential bankruptcy unprecedented in the history of this country, hamper Mr. Iliescu's aspirations, who would have liked to show us how he views the fulfillment of the noble ideals of communism and socialism in our country. I would like to be understood once and for all: I don't believe that Mr. Iliescu had evil intentions when he seized power after the Revolution. Except that his intentions share very few points in common with the ideals of the Revolution. However, from here to dividing the Romanian nation, pitching workers against intellectuals and students, and Romanians and Magyars against each other, from our natural ability to understand good intentions to the criminal disinformation of the population about what is now happening in Bucharest, by inciting certain categories of citizens through the method of slander and false rumors against other parties, particularly the historical ones—the most determined foes of the NSF [National Salvation Front]—something that elicited violent reactions, which in several cases went as far as murder, there is an enormous distance, which evidently separates us from democracy and brings us frighteningly close to a new dictatorship only a few months after the Revolution. Mr. Iliescu himself is by far not the public enemy No. 1 of Romanian society, but what he is bringing with him—fabricators of rumors, inciters to division and violence, fanatical party activism—is certainly not an argument for supporting his candidacy to the presidency.

In another connection, he first referred to those in University Square using insulting terms like "riffraff" and "hooligans." Then he suggested they were animals, saying that somebody was "watering" them. He finally made formal excuses, but only a few days later, at a news conference in Pitesti, he called the people in the square "blockheads." Is this the language we can expect from the future president of Romania? Of course, I do not deny the fact that a certain category of Romanians may see the terms used by the PNUC [Provisional National Unity Council] chairman as most appropriate, and the fact that a member of the French Academy expressed support for the principles of the demonstrators in University Square is not something that will impress those who today speak of the intellectuals as of social parasites. Ceausescu is surviving in many of us. Also, the fact that the U.S. Ambassador to Romania was recalled to Washington for consultations—something that also happened during the last few days of the Ceausescu dictatorship—will probably also not impress any but those who understand the importance of such a gesture by the American administration.

So what is to be done in this situation? Last night, when I saw former King Michael on television, I though that discussing the matter of the monarchy in Romania should in any case not be rejected *a priori*. By his mere presence, a king would serve to eliminate the struggle for political supremacy in a country inhabited by a population with a Latin temperament, kept in darkness and far from a democratic civilization for 45 years, a struggle that is now assuming the forms we are witnessing. Whether we adopt a constitutional monarchy, a presidential republic, or a parliamentary republic will be decided only by the future Constitution. By agreeing now to presidential elections we implicitely accept the Communist constitution as a viable option, and that is an insult to the martyrs of our Revolution. In this situation, the three presidentical candidates must be barred from running for that position and accepted as candidates in the elections for the Senate. As senators we can learn to know all three of them better and in time we may note other spectacular appearances in the political arena, and only after Romania's form of government has been decided should we have general elections. This version is the optimal compromise solution for the moment, because it does not accede to Article 8 of the Declaration of Timisoara, but it does give the country a necessary moment of stability. All that is required is that the three make the wisest decision. Such a proposal has been made by Messrs. Ratiu and Cimpeanu. Now it is up to Mr. Iliescu to accept it. This should happen before Romania's political crisis becomes a serious social crisis and before Bucharest becomes a new Tirgu Mures. As we see, a last, diplomatic alternative does exist.

* Priorities in Transition to Market Economy

90BA0133A Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 16 May 90 p 2

[Tudorel Postolache article: "The Transition to a Market Economy"]

[Text] While general consensus exists on the need to adopt a market economy, opinions differ—as is only normal—on the specific ways, means, timetable, and stages of achieving that objective. This is even truer since—although the market economy system has been operational in many advanced countries—our problem is fairly new, namely the transition from a supercentralized economy in deep crisis to a market economy. And for this kind of situation, neither the theory nor the practice offer solutions that can be imported and directly applied as such to the conditions prevailing in our country. I want to emphasize that the controversy between the so-called "shock therapy" or "gradual transition" has put us before the most diverse problems, precisely because of the complexity of the equation we have to resolve, which consists of the following goals: effect the transition to a market economy as quickly as possible, while mending a very deep crisis, at the same time ensuring an efficient program of social protection and not only maintaining, but gradually and effectively raising the living standard during the transition process itself. Within this plan, the strategy suggested distinguishes between two basic tasks for the transition. The first task is to implement the fundamental mechanisms of a market economy; according to the conclusions to which we have come so far, this task can and must be attained in a relatively short period of time, by the end of 1992. The second task is to modernize the structures of the national economy (including its branches, technologies, products, etc.); beginning with the very first stage, this task must proceed under a completely new legislative economic-financial system, totally different from the present one, and will require, according to the most optimistic evaluations, another five to eight years, and that on condition that the necessary programs are drafted and consistently implemented in well thought out stages and with appropriate international assistance.

I would like to list several of the directions that can be followed for the process of transition. Regarding the economic-financial system, we envisage the following measures: privatization; economic decentralization; price liberalization; profound restructuring of the financial system, the banks, and money circulation; changing the premises of foreign trade and expanding foreign economic aid; completely restructuring the concept of planning to fit the transition to a market economy, whereby, succintly put, the plan is "a market study at national level;" raising the data processing system to the level of demands of a market economy and of contacts with the data processing systems existing in economically advanced countries. These are only a few of the elements of the economic-financial system.

As for the legal system, we envisage: completely abrogating all legal norms that are incompatible with a market economy; reactivating and expanding the legal provisions that—although they had been conceived for a market economy—could not be implemented or were only partially utilized; enacting other legal provisions to uniformly establish the mechanisms of a market economy and guarantee equal opportunities for all the subjects, whatever the form of ownership.

Providing the legal framework for the transition to a market economy is a very extensive project involving great responsibility, which will be generally concluded by the end of 1992. This minutely detailed work, involving the participation of specialists in various areas—beginning with the most competent jurists—will materialize not only in theory, but also in a concrete program featuring two kinds of provisions: on the one hand, the laws that are to be adopted and in what succession and concept, and on the other, the laws and regulations that are to be abrogated and in what succession, so as to avoid a legislative void or the overlapping of contrary regulations.

Concerning the general framework of social policy, it is obvious that any radical change of the body economic, thus including the transition to a market economy, inevitably implies social costs (in other words, it involves abandoning certain production capacities, stopping certain investments, possible unemployment, price hikes, etc.). Both theoretically and practically, the social costs can be covered later, after the first positive results of the transition begin to emerge. Except that, because of certain specific factors, this solution may not be acceptable to the population. We may say that in a way, the costs of the transition have been paid before the fact. Suffice it to recall along this line the abnormal and painful means by which the foreign debt—haphazardly contracted and badly utilized—was paid off. To that circumstance we must also add the fact that the old regime has completely compromised any strategy that may resemble "making sacrifices today for a prosperous tomorrow." Since it is well known that the sacrifices of decades did not bring us any closer to prosperity, the strategy we suggest features immediate significant steps designed to attain a dignified living standard as soon as possible, on a par with the European level of civilization. Thus, we perceive a means by which many of the social costs of the transition can be covered as they emerge, so that, even during the transition to a market economy, not only later, we can achieve a level comparable with the average European basic social indexes. What is our basis for viewing this objective as feasible? First of all, a significant reduction of the rate of accumulation from 30-35 percent as it was in the past, to 23-24 percent in the coming years. Secondly, the accumulation can be made more efficient, and the strategy of investment allocation can be changed. Here we suggest two lines of priorities: an immediate priority for agriculture (together with the food industry, tourism, services, etc.) and another for data processing, microprocessors, and the use of robots in the economy, designed to promote the professional utilization of our main natural resource, the intelligence and creativity of the people, something that in turn will give us a rarely encountered chance to turn our backwardness into a means of more rapid progress. Thirdly, we suggest reversing the trends in the dynamics of economic growth: after the production drops that occurred in reality—rather than the increases reported—we should attain an average rate of at least 3.7-3.8 percent, simultaneously with structural changes and increased efficiency throughout the national economy. And finally, we propose widely opening up the national economy to the international economy, and a new type of participation in the world economic flow, different from the "neoslavery" practiced by the old regime, which cultivated a completely outdated autarky. This includes creating conditions for attracting foreign capital and foreign loans—within reasonable limits—especially for acquiring data processing systems and key technologies.

From this viewpoint, we have calculated eight economic development scenarios apt to ensure the achievement of the above objectives. Naturally, these calculations may require changes, specifications, etc., but, together with the overall strategy and documentation work, they provide points of reference for working out a direct plan of action for the future government. That is because, we want to stress, this is not just a matter of economic calculations, but also a matter of option, on which the representative bodies that will come up after the elections will have to decide.

* Defense Ministry Communique on Candidates

90BA0130B Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 17 May 90 p 2

[Text] The ROMPRES press agency has received the following communique from the National Defense Ministry:

To ascertain the position of the presidential candidates on defense issues and on the future of the military establishment, Defense Minister Lieutenant General Victor-Atanase Stanculescu, together with members of the Action Committee for the Democratization of the Army [CADA] had meetings with Messrs. Radu Cimpeanu, Ioan Ratiu, and Ion Iliescu.

The discussions with each one of the candidates covered a wide spectrum of issues concerning Romanian society and in that context, the Romanian Army. Thus, it was highlighted that the December Revolution was won by the blood of the young generation, of young civilians and soldiers, who made the supreme sacrifice of offering their lives as the foundation for a new, free, and independent life, and demonstrated the unshakable unity between the Army and the people. Once again, undeniable facts showed that the Romanian Army was and will always be an inextricable part of the nation.

As was stressed at all three meetings, the path traveled by the Army since the first days of the Revolution to date is the path on which the entire Romanian society is engaged. The military establishment is endeavoring to change its structures and to achieve a real democratization without interrupting or paralyzing its activities, in accordance with the aspirations of the new society that we all want to build. The CADA delegates stated that the supreme desire of the entire Army was to build a strong fighting military body with flexible structures, following our great traditions, and made up of competent people with high moral, patriotic, and professional standards.

Along this line, stress was laid on the fact that, proceeding from the democratic principle of promoting professional proficiency, the Army is capable of reorganizing its structures by itself, from the inside, without any interference from the outside.

At the same time, it was pointed out at the meetings that the Army was against any overt or covert attempts to enlist and implicate it in promoting the political interests of individuals, political groups, organizations, or parties. That does not mean that the military, who are first and foremost citizens of Romania, will not consciously exercise their basic human rights. The cadres and conscripts will vote, but their vote will constitute a personal, free, and dignified option.

In view of the fact that the Army was asked to participate, alongside the Police, in ensuring public order and guarding sites during the elections, that means that the military establishment represents the guarantee for public stability and consequently, until a Constitution is adopted, its role and place must be determined by statute.

At the same time, the discussions held highlighted the following issues:

1. In view of the fact that, in accordance with the current electoral law, the Army will not be represented in the future Parliament, a commission should be established, made up of military representatives and cadres, to deal with national defense and military issues.

2. Until a Constitution is drafted to establish the place and role of the Army in the new Romanian society, the Army will be subordinated to the elected Parliament, so as to eliminate the possibility of it being used to serve the interests of any party through the government.

3. The sides reached consensus on the fact that maintaining the political neutrality of the Army can guarantee the observance of the people's interests and of freedom, dignity, and democracy.

4. To ensure the stability of the military establishment during the transitional period, while the process of democratization continues, the person in charge of the Army as minister of national defense must be a military expert proposed by the Leadership Council of the Ministry of National Defense.

5. The Army must be equipped with advanced warfare means, on a par with modern armies, in keeping with the important tasks incumbent on the Army for defending the independence, sovereignty, and integrity of the fatherland, and appropriate moral and material conditions must be ensured for the cadres and conscripts.

As the national defense minister said at the three meetings, the Army has only one mission: to be permanently on duty and to make any sacrifice necessary to defend the ancestral land and the interets of the Romanian nation.

* Former Minister of Tourism on NSF Leaders

90BA0132A Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 16 May 90 p 2

[Sorin Rosca-Stanescu article, which includes an interview with Mihai Lupoi by an unidentified person; place and date not given: "New Revelations on the Transcript of the 'Great Consensus'"]

[Text] Mr. Mihai Lupoi has acceded to our request to help us decipher some of the still unfathomed secrets of the meeting held on the afternoon of 22 December in one of the offices of the Central Committee. We want to remind the readers that he was then guarding the door on the inside. Both before and after that he accompanied the present team of national leaders on various occasions, thus learning a number of relevant—and even spicy—details.

[Lupoi] I came to the Central Committee from the Ministry of National Defense, having previously accompanied some of the participants in the famous meeting at the television station. I drove up in the car with the former minister of the interior, Doicaru, and with Ardeleanu, who had been in charge of the USLA [Union of Free Army Trade Unions] troops, and another two young revolutionaries, one of whom traveled in the trunk. TINERETUL LIBER mentioned an Oltcit [car] about which Mihai Ispas had been talking. It was my Oltcit. So, to recap, Mr. Iliescu gave a short statement on television, then he went to the Ministry of National Defense, and now we were together again. The purpose of going to that office was to draft the communique. Not much work was done on that. In fact, it had been drafted by Apostoiu, who had worked in Nicolae Ceausescu's chancellery until a few hours earlier. The transcript arouses several questions, some of which I can answer. Indeed, during that meeting, Dan Iosif was circulating from one group to another throughout the Central Committee. Brucan was the one who was against allowing Gheorghe Apostol and Ilie Verdet in the office. There is something we have to clarify about a certain Geana, who figured in your series. The person involved was actually General Geoana, who was in charge of the Army's anti-aircraft shelters. When Ardeleanu showed up, the talk was of forming teams of Army engineers and USLA fighters to flush out the terrorists from the basements of the Central Committee and the television station, something that had been discussed at the National Defense Ministry without Mr. Iliescu. The name of a certain Voicu also appears in the transcript. Voicu was Colonel Lazarescu's deputy at the Fifth Directorate of the Interior Ministry.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] What can you tell us about Mazilu?

[Lupoi] Mazilu had his own revolution, he was with his own men. He had his own communique ready, and he was trying some form of organization at the other end of the corridor. In fact, he had taken over the leadership before Ion Iliescu arrived, but then it slipped through his fingers... Initially, the Iliescu group intended to combine the material drafted by Apostoiu with Mazilu's program. But they gave that up. There was latent conflict...

[ROMANIA LIBERA] How were the first appointments made?

[Lupoi] Militaru was appointed minister at my proposal. I thought Guse was a brute; in any case, he had been compromised in Timisoara. Iliescu had no legitimacy at that point, other than possibly his managerial manner. He himself had not been elected or appointed by anyone. On the other hand, Militaru had to be first reactivated in order to be appointed, because he was in reserve. But he was nevertheless appointed. Then Petre Roman was appointed prime minister. I thought that was the greatest abuse of power. This is how it happened: at about 1730-1800 the shooting began—as Sergiu Nicolaescu had correctly predicted. So we all went to the television station. I, Iliescu, and Petre Roman spent the night under the desk in the office of the chairman on the 11th floor, while Jerbas was answering the phone. I cannot tell you how Roman linked up with Iliescu. That step escaped me. The next day we moved to the National Defense Ministry. There I was in the same room with Iliescu, Brucan, Dr. Manole of the School of Military Medicine, Mazilu, and Badinici (Mr. Badinici is the one often seen among Mr. Petre Roman's suite, but also among the "riffraff" in University Square, probably as an observer—editorial note). All of a sudden Iliescu said that someone had to be appointed prime minister in order to stay in touch with the embassies. He suggested Petre Roman. No one wanted him. Mazilu, I, and Manole certainly opposed it, saying we didn't know him. Brucan didn't say anything this time, he had given his opinion the day before at the Central Committee. So we left it that we would see later who was to be prime minister. But actually the die had been cast. Tacitly. In point of fact, neither Roman, nor Iliescu, nor any of the new leaders were elected or appointed by any National Salvation Council [NSF].

[ROMANIA LIBERA] Do you know any other details about the relationship between Mr. Iliescu and the Soviet Embassy?

[Lupoi] I heard with my own ears how Mr. Iliescu asked on the phone someone at the Soviet Embassy whether we could expect help from them in case of need. From the other end of the line he was told that they could deliver materiel, but certainly not personally, since that was not in the spirit of the new Soviet policy. Roman had no claim to get in touch with the Hungarian Embassy. But I was not present at that dialogue.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] Let us digress for a moment: Tell us how you were fired.

[Lupoi] That was because I confronted Petre Roman in the midst of a government meeting and accused him of dictatorial methods and of not communicating with the representatives of various departments. One conclusive example was the matter of my being urgently recalled from Paris without any justification. My release was an act of abuse of power by the prime minister, for which he will have to answer.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] Mr. Lupoi, is it true that the Romanian Intelligence Service began to be organized already in January, without public knowledge, within the Ministry of Tourism, under the conspiratorial name of NSF Economic Commission?

[Lupoi] What I know is that at the NSF's imperious demand, we put at its disposal the protocol room of the Tourism Ministry, where Colonel Stan worked, together with several close aides. Probably on... ecology.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] As far as you know, is Col. Stan Mr. Magureanu's deputy now?

[Lupoi] I couldn't tell for sure. But until recently he was undoubtedly the deputy of Mr. Macri, who was recently put on trial in Timisoara.

If the transcript is genuine (which it is, because it can be compared with the video tape anytime and by anyone), and if what Mr. Mihai Lupoi said is accurate, then obviously the present leadership team is no emanation of the revolution. The leadership created and appointed itself before the future NSF had a chance to take any decision along that line. Also, a Romanian intelligence service was established in a hurry (we still don't understand for what purpose), at first in a concealed form. In other words, the power and its spearhead.

Commentator Views U.S.-USSR Summit

LD0406161490 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 4 Jun 90

[Milika Sundic commentary]

[Text] The four-hour dialogue in Washington and Camp David between U.S. President George Bush and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev ended precisely as expected. The two leaders have achieved considerable progress in all the problems considered, apart from the future military and political status of a unified Germany. The U.S. President was not surprised at that; one might even say that he understands Mikhail Gorbachev's troubles and his caution from the point of view of the Soviet Union's European strategic and military interests. The Soviet leader could not simply say yes, for he did not have the approval of the country's military and political leadership for that. On the other hand he cannot clearly see why the United States insists so much on a united Germany's membership in NATO before all security issues in Europe have been worked out within the framework of a new conference of 35 countries at which the question of Germany's future status might be thoroughly reviewed. President Bush unreservedly advocated Chancellor Kohl's interests and those of the Bonn government as a whole, as well as U.S. interests in continuing cooperation with the Soviet Union in all possible areas. The agreement on strategic arms reduction was not signed this time, something that could have been foreseen. Nonetheless, that will certainly be done by autumn since all the necessary conditions for that exist.

Instead, a significant trade agreement was signed, one that opens up the prospects for comprehensive economic cooperation and is marked by a few not too essential limitations which will probably be removed as early as at the next summit by year's end. As for regional problems, ranging from Afghanistan to the Middle East, the two leaders achieved a significant degree of agreement and full trust in both countries' intentions to react, jointly and separately, to all occurrences of threats to world peace. Particular attention was paid to the emigration of Soviet Jews to Israel and to the resistance in the U.S. Congress to granting the Soviet Union most-favored-nation status. Gorbachev told Bush that this issue had been resolved in principle, that is, the emigration of the Soviet Jews, but he also, together with the U.S. President, spotted the problems stemming from this, i.e. the Jewish settlements in occupied Arab territories, something that may bring about serious problems for the Soviet Union in its Arab relations.

One gets the impression that the Soviet leader was convincing enough and that President Bush fully understood his intentions, especially regarding the internal troubles Mikhail Gorbachev is facing. In other words the Americans are aware of the possible consequences of not supporting Mikhail Gorbachev, and this fact will probably affect their approach to the Baltic republics, committed to secede from the Soviet Union. After all, Gorbachev did not rule out this possibility; he nevertheless explained with a great deal of reason to the U.S. President that the Baltics' secession from the Soviet Union requires time and mutual patience.

Over the last few days the Soviet-U.S. summit has been at the center of the attention of the international public; unlike past negotiations and agreements between Moscow and Washington, though, this time no one questioned the two superpowers' good intentions to definitively unroot the remnants of the Cold War in the world, nor did anyone think that some tricks had been staged behind the scenes by the big countries to the detriment of third countries. If this is so, then there is no reason for being reserved about the course and the outcome of the recent U.S.-Soviet summit.

President Jovic Arrives in Malaysia for Visit

LD3105151290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1249 GMT 31 May 90

[Text] Kuala Lumpur, 31 May (TANJUG)—SFRY Presidency President Dr. Borisav Jovic arrived on 31 May in the Malaysian capital of Kuala Lumpur. Starting 1 June, Malaysia will host the first summit of the Group of 15 for consultation and cooperation.

With all honors, the welcoming ceremony was held in front of the parliament building, where Malaysian Paramount Ruler Raja Aslan Shah greeted Jovic.

Jovic heads the Yugoslav delegation, a participant in the three-day summit that will primarily consider possibilities for advancing economic cooperation between developing countries.

After the summit ends, the SFRY Presidency president will stay for a two-day official visit to Malaysia.

Addresses G-15 Summit

LD0106232190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1910 GMT 1 Jun 90

["Pool" item]

[Text] Kuala Lumpur, June 1 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia views south-south cooperation as a logical component in the chain of overall integration processes that are marking the present times, Yugoslav State Presidency President Borisav Jovic said in his address at the three-day summit of the group of 15 (G-15) developing countries which started in Kuala Lumpar today [1 June].

South-south economic cooperation is an expression of our responsibility for our own development and wish to participate more successfully in the world economy, Jovic said.

The forms of cooperation which we agree on can be binding only for the participants of the summit, but the initiative of the G-15 also implies openness towards all other interested developing countries, Jovic said.

Jovic presented two projects for concrete cooperation offered by Yugoslavia. The first is an information system for technologies and projects which would enable the forming of an international network for exchanging information in the fields among the developing countries. The second is a "business forum" through which conditions for cooperation [word indistinct] major national firms would be presented.

Most heads of state and government and representatives of 15 developing countries participated in the afternoon discussion which also covered the focus of [word indistinct] future activity, although the issue had been left for the last day of the summit.

Some consider that the group should be flexible, while others believe that the forming of a permanent secretariat is necessary to ensure the implementation of what has been agreed.

Meets With King

LD0406173390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1612 GMT 4 Jun 90

[Text] Kuala Lumpur, 4 Jun (TANJUG)—The beginning of an official and friendly visit to Malaysia by Yugoslav President Borisav Jovic was marked by a reception held here today in the residence of Malaysian King azlan shah [name as recieved].

This is Jovic's first visit to Malaysia since he took the office of president of Yugoslavia's collective presidency.

Jovic also met with Yugoslav businessmen in Malaysia to discuss the possibilities of business transactions in this country.

On Tuesday [5 June] the Yugoslav president is scheduled to meet with Prime Minister Dr. Mahathir bin Mohamed. The two are expected to focus on the promotion of the two countries' relations, especially in the sphere of economic cooperation. They will also exchange views on trends in international relations.

Loncar Discusses Ties With West Europe

LD0106160390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1955 GMT 31 May 90

[Text] Paris, 31 May (TANJUG)—Yugoslav's interest in joining the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) is part of its general policy of getting closer to Western Europe, Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar said in talks with Yugoslav journalists after the just ended OECD ministerial meeting in Paris.

Loncar submitted Yugoslavia's request for OECD membership on Wednesday [30 May].

The Yugoslav foreign secretary pointed out several references in favour of Yugoslavia's request for admittance, emphasizing its market orientation, the introduction of political pluralism and tendencies towards the maximum respect of human rights.

Loncar expressed optimism and said he hoped the above would enable Yugoslavia's admittance to the OECD by October next year, when it marks the 30th anniversary of its cooperation with the organization.

In today's [31 May] debate on environment protection, Yugoslav minister for development Bozidar Marendic supported the OECD concept on the issue and pointed out that Yugoslavia faced a threat in this area from other countries.

Bogicevic Sees 'Danger of Anarchy' Looming

LD0106210690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1121 GMT 1 Jun 90

[Text] Sarajevo, 1 Jun (TANJUG)—Speculations about a possible imposition of a state of emergency in some parts of the country are not bringing about anything good. The SFRY Presidency does not think in these categories. We are preoccupied with the reform processes, and no one sensible is thinking of resolving the crisis by the use of force.

SFRY Presidency member Bogic Bogicevic said this in an interview with NEDELJA [WEEK] of Sarajevo. Asked whether anarchy is imminent, Bogic Bogicevic stressed that for a long period of time the existing SFRY Constitution and laws grounded on it have not been observed in Yugoslavia. This leads to a further deepening of differences and mistrust, while the danger of anarchy stemming from nonfunctioning of the law-governed state is looming.

The occurences of the violation of constitutionality and legality reached such proportions that they are endangering some vital functions of the state, especially in the area of security, national defense, a single Yugoslav market, discharging material and other obligations toward the federation, etc. Some endorsed amendments to republican and provincial constitutions and heralded adoption of new constitutions in some republics are having negative effects, which, all together, could put relations in our country in a delicate state with the possibility of a deepening crisis.

In this connection, Bogic Bogicevic stressed that in republics and provinces, measures on removing constitutional blockades must be implemented so that the state could discharge its functions throughout its entire territory. Furthermore, the work on amendments and the adoption of new republican constitutions should be synchronized with the work on the new [federal] constitution, and thus, possible one-sided points, discords, and impositions of someone's solutions are avoided.

The situation in Kosovo continues to be grave and uncertain, despite the fact that the emergency measures were lifted and that public peace and order were established, Bogicevic went on. In spite of this, many cracks that will be difficult to fill, remain. We must acknowledge the fact that the Kosovo drama is not from yesterday, but that it has historical, economic, social, cultural, demographic, and other causes.

The paralysis of the work of the system's institutions—above all, the Kosovo Assembly and Executive Council, divisions on the national basis, and the blockade of parliamentary procedures have a negative impact on the stabilization of the situation and relations in the province. It is necessary to force all political subjects in Kosovo to account or share responsibility for the state of relations and the situation in the province. It is also necessary to find solutions acceptable for all nations and nationalities in Kosovo.

The world is constantly sending us messages showing interest in a stable and united Yugoslavia, in a Yugoslavia based on the principles of the market and parliamentary democracy. I believe that this time, despite all dangers, we will not halt halfway along the embarked-on path, that we will fully implement the reform, and that we will become a part of the developed democratic world.

It is telling that former Communists harbor the strongest anticommunist feelings, Bogicevic noted. Isn't this partly, he asked, a result of the current political situation, because a number of former Communists were not incidentally in the party but were important creators of the situation that they now so vociferously criticize. An inseparable part of an anticommunist and antisocialist campaign is denigration of and attacks on the personality of Josip Broz Tito, the revolution, its achievements, and the socialist development. This is not the manifestation of the will of broad masses of people. Our nations and nationalities have not lost their memory, Bogic Bogicevic said in conclusion.

National Government 'Will Not Abandon Reforms'

LD0406195290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1757 GMT 4 Jun 90

["Yugoslav Government Will Not Abandon Reforms"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Skopje, 4 Jun (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government will not give up its option for a market economy, opening to the world market , a multi-party system, parliamentary democracy, and private property since these are preconditions for a successful realization of reforms—Federal Vice-Premier Aleksandar Mitrovic pointed out in Skopje today.

In a meeting with some one hundred Yugoslav economists and businessmen who are taking part here in the 40th International Fair of Consumer Goods, Mitrovic indicated that the notable results of the economic reform were not followed by adequate results in the reform of the country' political system.

Mitrovic further pointed out that the program of economic reform envisages that the considerable drop in prices and greater room in the monetary policy will be followed by a revival of industrial production and of the entire economy, and that a cycle of investments will begin, with the help of funds from international financial organizations.

The Yugoslav vice-premier also said that the number of contracts on joint investments with foreign partners is expected to increase in the coming period, and that there will be a boom of small and medium-sized firms in the private and mixed ownership sectors of the economy.

Military Service Reportedly Not To Be Shortened

LD0406143190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1310 GMT 4 Jun 90

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Jun (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav National Defense Ministry set out today, in reply to a question raised in the Assembly of Yugoslavia, that there were no conditions for the time being for shortening the military service, because it would negatively effect Yugoslavia's defence capability.

Any further shortening of the military service would disrupt the balance between the regular armed forces and the required contingent of recruits, the Federal Defence Ministry specified.

The one-year military service, which has been in effect in Yugoslavia since January 1, 1986, is one of the shortest in Europe and the world, as the National Defense Ministry recalled today.

CTUY President Vasic Addresses Congress

LD0106195390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0550 GMT 1 Jun 90

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 1 Jun (TANJUG)—Rapid and major changes are characterizing Yugoslav reality. They are being brought about by the market economy, ownership and political pluralism, democratic processes, calls for a law-government state, and a broad opening up toward Europe and the world. This is motivating us, too, as an organization of workers, to seek and affirm our own identity in new conditions and to actively participate in the social changes, Andjelko Vasic, president of the Confederation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia [CTUY], said on 1 June in his opening speech to the 11th congress of this organization.

"Changes in the trade unions do not stop at congresses. This is not the purpose of this congress either. We have come to critically examine, assess, and sum up the scope of our own reforms so far, with the aim of creating wide space for the emergence and affirmation of the trade unions as interest-based, independent, and autonomous organizations. This space is being created with the first program of Yugoslav trade unions, and we also see it in the new attitude toward the member and his interests, trade union pluralism, the vital content of labor, freedom of organization, integration and activity, clear relations with all social factors, and inclusion in the new European and world trends."

The efforts that we made in the preceding period, in the given systemic and social conditions, did not yield great results. Anchored in the system, we lost our own identity. We lacked strength and perseverance in the struggle for the interests of workers. Accountability for this cannot be lessened by the progressive nature of our stances or our orientations toward reforms as a whole and their specific solutions, Vlasic stressed. Most of this remained on paper, partly because of the blockade in the system itself and our position within it, but also, to a large extent, because of our own lack of perseverance, determination, and courage in making more rapid changes to ourselves and to the system. [passage omitted: This congress must make a break with old practice. Trade unions are entering a new phase] As part of the program aims of a long-term and general character in the coming four-year period, the action program proposes many specific tasks, Vasic explained.

We have the opportunity very shortly to put to the test our ability to protect the material and social interests of workers in collective bargaining, he continued. Without the trade unions, it will not be possible to establish the cost of the work force, to define conditions or work, to insure the risk of unemployment, to determine the role of workers in decision-making and management.

With the acceptance of the market economy model and pluralism of ownership, conditions also are created in this country for collective bargaining to become one of the strong and effective methods in the trade union struggle. We are unanimous in our stand that we are going into collectivized bargaining with a cost of labor that covers the simple reproduction of the work force of the employed and their families. It is the duty of the trade unions to prove with their arguments that it is not in the interests of the "other side" either to go below that price if economic vegetation and holdups, conflicts, disputes, and blockades are to be avoided.

The conclusion of collective agreements is being held up because certain essential issues have not been resolved in advance. These are, above all, issues of social and mixed enterprises, that is of the owner and titular of social property and its representative in the person of one of the negotiators. This important condition is not ensured in the concept of reform. The systemic laws are still conflicting, disagrements are increasing, and work is being hampered. In this vacuum, the state bodies have directly intervened in the distribution of personal incomes, "protecting accumulation from the workers," said Vasic, recalling that the trade unions called in the SFRY Assembly for the law on the limitation of personal incomes not to be adopted, for the systemic laws to be coordinated, and for distribution to be decided on responsibly by the economic subjects. However, he added, in this case it also has been shown that the trade unions are unable to present and explain their demands and that the Assembly decides without their agreement even on the most important issues for the workers. We are also far from the solution of certain basic questions of the taxation system relating to the ration between gross and net personal income, which are of major importance for collective bargaining, Vasic warned.

"Technological and economic surplus manpower will be the greatest test for the trade unions. Guarantees for the economic and social security of these workers are not in evidence even at the level prescribed by the law."

The economy is not yet in the phase of restructuring with new programs and new organization of work. This situation could seriously threaten positive results in the macroplan and bring back all our inflationary problems. All that is being done in the area of savings, utilization of capacities, and attitudes to work is inadequate. Production is declining, and a large number of collectives are threatened with bankruptcy. The illiquidity is enormous. Even the collectives with prospects are facing difficulties because of unsettled mutual commitments. We do not accept that the changes should amount only to the dismissal of workers. At the end of the day, no worker can be dismissed without the agreement of the unions. Workers who are made redundant by technology cannot be left without work, and, in addition to their constitutional rights, they also have the full protection of the trade unions. We are seeking social security for the economic surplus manpower and an organized method of finding new employment. We will strongly oppose any subjectivism, abuse of powers, and failure to observe the established criteria in making workers redundant: for us the "surplus" is primarily in management, which is not capable of coming out with forward-looking programs and acquiring additional accumulation, nor of adjusting its behavior to the market. It is too easy to make workers redundant and claim that they are a barrier to changes.

The trade unions will demand, however, Vasic added, that no one is left on his own in his misfortunes—particularly not the worker, whether it is in the factory, institutions, schools, hospitals, the theater...

We see scope for new jobs, for humane work conditions, an increase in free time, savings, better utilization of capacities, increased production, in reduced working hours. In the action program, we have unequivocally come out for a 40-hour working week. We have not succeeded in this through the law on work relations because of outvoting, but we will in collective bargaining. Our strongest argument is the results achieved in collectives that are already working like this or fewer hours, Vasic said.

We remain consistent in our orientation toward the equality of all forms of ownership, their competing on the market, and subjection to market forces. In the case of social ownership, where transformation is needed, we are calling for its ownership character to be assured, for it to become social capital, for its titular to be determined, and thus for conditions to be created for it to compete on equal terms with other forms of ownership. In the transformation of social ownership, we are against its inefficient protection and socialization. We are calling for the criteria for its transformation to be established in advance. We are against the wholesale reprivatization or the general nationalization of social property. Neither private enterprise nor the state should become the owners of social property via its devaluation or various machinations. Unfortunately, we are already seeing the selling off and alienation of social property from the workers.

We are calling for the legal provisions on social ownership and its transformations to be observed and for individuals who violate them to be punished. And in the case of joint investments with foreign partners, it is essential for workers that our economic and political independence should be maintained, the president of the Yugoslav workers' organization noted.

We also see worker shareholding and cooperatives as specific forms of transformation of social ownership, Vasic continued and added that a special declaration is proposed on the transformation of social ownership, worker shareholding, and workers' participation in decision-making, because of its importance.

Self-management remains our basic preoccupation, although it is accused of being the cause of the crisis and is disputed both as a system and as a social practice. It remains a permanent and strategic task. It is not only a case of our attitude toward an original and world-renowned democratic tradition but also of the need for the emancipation of the worker and human being, Vasic stressed.

In the present conditions, when the laws are no longer developing the self-managing rights of workers, the extent and content of self-management primarily will depend on the workers themselves in enterprises. This is a challenge for the unions and an opportunity to raise to a higher level the realization of the self-managing rights of workers, making use of our tradition and world experiences. We must devote special attention to securing the rights of workers to participation in decision-making in enterprises with mixed and private ownership. These issues need to be developed both in collective agreements and in the statutes of enterprises, Vasic explained. We are bound to do everything possible so that our organization as a whole and its individual organizational parts remain firmly interest-oriented in the sense of the realization and protection of the existential interests and rights of the members. This means that we are a nonparty, or rather "supraparty" organization, above all politics and ideologies, adhering only to the ideology of a better life, and firmly committed to the solution of issues relating to work.

The demand has been made for a flexible organization instead of a static one, for the abandonment of a dominant territorial form of organization, and for democratic instead of hierarchical relations. Independent and autonomous trade unions and their activities, which are in the process of being formed and affirmed, have a central place in the new organization. They are associating themselves on a voluntary basis into federations of independent trade unions, as forms of territorial organizations. This kind of trade union pluralism should be stimulated, Vasic believes, pointing out that unless this happens, parallel trade unions will be enhanced.

"Of everthing that is taking place in trade unions today, the formation of trade unions on a single national basis is particularly serious." This is an exceptional danger for workers and for our movement, because trade union rights and freedoms are skillfully misused, and funds for trade union campaigns are used for nationalist and separatist aims.

"After a long period, tried and tested means of campaigning are being restored to the trade unions. Besides the existing means, they also have available to them today negotiation, the concluding of collective contracts, arbitration, the institution and conduct of judicial disputes, the use of various forms of warnings, pressure, and strikes. In order for strikes—the most potent means in our campaigning—to be both more effective and affirmed in the right way, we will also construct a corresponding strategy," Vasic intimated and added that all these means will be used successfully and have legitimacy if they are part of democratic work methods, in which the membership expresses its interests freely and develops trade union policy and strategy.

There can be no new trade unions without an autonomous cadre policy. The trade unions and their membership are most in need of cadres who know what the new trade unions are, what kind of tasks face them, how to deal successfully with employers and the state, and who have a critical attitude toward the existing order and its protagonists. Hence, we must devote special attention to questions of training the membership and trade union activists for a new role and for the program tasks facing the organization, Vasic said.

A new interest-based role of the trade unions cannot be achieved successfully without financial independence. We need a new system of financing, in which, besides the membership fee as the basic source of income, additional sources will be earmarked for the purpose of satisfying the growing and very specific needs of the membership and the organization, above all in the provision of assistance for material and social security.

"Activities to secure additional funds have started. Cooperatives, tourism, banking and other entrepreneurial activities are being introduced in the entire organization in a qualitatively new manner. Trade union property (buildings, hostels, restaurants, and other objects) will be placed at the disposal of the economy.

"In the future we will cooperate more actively with international trade union organizations, including possibly joining them on an equal basis.

"Proceeding from the interest for cooperation with the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC), we propose that the congress approve the initiative that our organization be nominated for membership of this confederation. In doing so, firmer grounds and broader possibilities for qualitatively new and more meaningful relations with this international trade union organization, its members, and the industrial committee would be created," the CTUY president assessed.

"In cooperating with West European trade unions and the ETUC, we will intensify efforts to ensure equal treatment and status as residents and workers of Yugoslav citizens abroad. In light of the 1992 single market and its consequences for the status of immigrants, it is most important to secure for our workers equal status with EC workers," Vasic noted.

"This congress, irrespective of whether we call it the 11th or the first, should be the congress of fundamental changes. Our main and greatest task at this congress is to adopt in a democratic manner our first program and a new statute of the Independent Trade Union Federation of Yugoslavia, appropriate resolutions, a declaration, and an action program for the work in the next intercongress period. We are also obliged to agree about how we can work together in the transitional period and put the congress tasks into practice." [passage omitted: Vasic reiterates the need for the trade unions to change with the times]

"This trade union, with its own reforms has opened up great possibilities for it to evolve from a potential into a real social force. This is its historical chance," Vasic concluded.

Jovic Speech Marks World Environment Day

LD0406214690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2053 GMT 4 Jun 90

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Jun (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia fully supports activities aimed towards the protection of the environments, Yugoslav President Dr. Borisav Jovic said here on Monday [4 June], on the occasion of June 5, the World Environment Protection Day.

The protection of the environment is Yugoslavia's strategic interest and an unseparable part of its social and economic development, he sais. All development and investment programmes, as well as land development plans, therefore [word indistinct] be adjusted to the ecological demands, said Jovic, adding that the problems of ecological protection must be given a prominent place in Yugoslavia's international cooperation. This should be one of the priorities in relations with the neighbours, the countries of the Danube Region and the European countries, he said.

He also said that Yugoslavia, as one of the initiators of the World Environment Protection Day and the chairman of the Non-aligned Movement, has special obligations in realizing the stands of the ninth Nonaligned summit relating to the protection of the environment.

We will also take an active part in preparations for the second UN conference on environment and development, he said.

Social-Democratic Party Founded in Belgrade

AU3105171090 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 31 May 90

[Text] Another party, called the Social-Democratic Party of Yugoslavia, presented itself to the public at a 31 May new conference in the Sava Center. Nebojsa Spajic was present and reports:

This party, which according to its representatives has 20,000 members, has been formed with the merger of the Democratic Peasant Ecological Party, the Movement for Democratic Renewal and Social Justice, and the Independent Economic Party. The program of this Social-Democratic Party is based on the demands for a multiparty parliamentary system, the rule of law, a free press, the market, depolitization of the Army and police, and all other points in which the programs of all the opposition parties in Serbia more or less agree. The difference from some of these may be the special insistence on social justice and pacifism, and the fact that on the political map they may occupy a position left of center.

Informing the journalists of the program of the party, in a speech full of digressions, lawyer Velimir Cvetic, party president, said that the party will also apply to join the Socialist International. He learned only from the journalists that a Yugoslav social-democratic party has been a member of the Third International for decades. Deputy President Milovan Curcic said that he thought that this was a matter of socialists.

The party that was formed so as to unify the fragmented political space, as its representatives put it, is one of the signatories to the protocol on a protest meeting that has been announced by a bloc of five opposition parties in Serbia for 13 June. The rally that the parties intend to hold at Republic Square in Belgrade will demand that multiparty elections be held in Serbia this year and that a roundtable conference be held on the most important political laws.

No decision has yet been taken as to what will be done in case authorities react with repression, which is expected anyway by the representatives of this and other parties that signed the protocol.

Slovene Government Holds First Session

AU2705140390 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 19 May 90 p 1

[Branko Soban report: "The Government Rolls Up Its Sleeves at Its First Session"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 18 May—The new Slovene government met for the first time at 27 Gregorciceva Street shortly after 1100 on 18 May. Premier Lojze Peterle drew attention to the fact that it was not a regular session (which should meet on 24 May) but only a kind of preparation. All the ministers were present except Peter Vencelj, president of the Republican Committee for Education, Training, and Physical Culture. His deputy, Stane Cehovin, attended on his behalf.

Lojze Peterle said that the new government faces extensive tasks. There will be much work, but the stands on the tasks and questions should be adopted in committees and departments so that the discussions at the Executive Council sessions will not be excessively long.

The new ministers then spoke about how they took over their duties. There have been no major hitches. Janez Jansa said that in his department the handing over of duties met European standards. Igor Bavcar, the new interior minister, said that everything was functioning normally, only the previous minister, Tomaz Ertl, does not make himself seen....

Some ministers complained about the poor technical equipment of their departments, and some also touched upon salaries. Peter Tancig thus said that 10,000 or 11,000 dinars a month are not enough if you want to attract professionals. New Finance Minister Marko Kranjec replied that money is tight and he cannot easily make promises.

The government, of course, could not bypass the present events in Yugoslavia, especially the statement by Borisav Jovic and the latest decision by the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, which was presented to the government members by Janez Jansa in some detail. Lojze Peterle said in conclusion of the session that these statements and measures occurred at the time of democratic processes in Slovenia and Croatia and at the time when Slovenia obtained a new government. In his opinion, however, there is no need yet to raise alarm because of Jovic's statements. He invited the ministers to prepare by 21 May the proposed decisions that could be adopted at the government session on 24 May.

Slovene Poll on Jovic, Federation, Weapons

AU3105141990

[Editorial Report] Ljubljana DELO in Slovene on 26 May on pages 1 and 3 carries an 800-word report by Slava Partlic on an opinion poll carried out by DELO by telephone on 23 and 24 May, concerning Borisav Jovic's inaugural address as SFRY Presidency president, the attitude to the federation, and the transfer of Territorial Defense weapons to Yugoslav People's Army depots. "It seems that by now Slovene citizens are tired of politics," Partlic says, because "as many as 161 people refused to participate in our latest telephone poll," but "the remaining 542 telephone subscribers chosen by computer readily answered our questions."

Some of the results of the poll are scattered in the text, and others are displayed in a table, a pie chart, and a bar diagram, as follows, the figures being as published.

Display Table question: "What do you think about the well-known address by Borisav Jovic on assuming presidential office? (One answer)"

Continuation of great Serbian policy	40.0 percent
This is interference by the Army/police	14.9
Unnecessary dramatization	13.8
Exceeding his powers	11.6
A necessary statement	3.3
Don't know the statement, don't know	16.3

"The respondents agreed with the thesis that Jovic's statement aggravated the relations in the federation even more and emphasized the differences between the republics. In connection with this aggravation, the majority (83.6 percent) consider—of course—that the policy of the two republics that have carried out free elections and support a confederation is correct and more acceptable to all. Only 2.8 percent of the respondents support the policy of the traditional concept of the federation, and even fewer—1.7 percent—are for a policy that invokes the traditions of the National Liberation Struggle; 4.6 percent of the respondents considered that it was all without significance."

Pie Chart question: "What should be the Slovene policy toward the federation?"

It should leave it well alone and should devote itself to its own development	51.5 percent
It should stick to the present policy toward the federation	34.5
It should strive for the preservation of Yugoslavia	8.1
Do not know	5.9

"The majority of our respondents believed that the strongest center of authority and real power in the state —as well as the most significant for its further existence—is the federal government headed by Ante Markovic (68.3 percent). Other ascribed such power either to the Federal Assembly (14 percent), the Army, police, and the judiciary (4.2 percent), or to the SFRY Presidency 1.8 percent).

"The Yugoslav People's Army demand to move the Territorial Defense weapons to military depots has caused much excitement in Slovenia. Our respondents consider that this demand is primarily a provocation that should further aggravate the relations among the republics (35.8 percent), a warning to Slovenia and Croatia (33.6 percent), or an attempt to assume direct control over the republics (31.1 percent).

"The majority is also of the opinion that it would be most appropriate to store the weapons as previously, which is to say in the communal Territorial Defense staffs (84.7 percent of the respondents)."

Bar diagram question: "Has General I. Hocevar acted correctly or not?"

He should have refused	13.6 percent
He should have consulted others	75.1
He acted correctly	3.5
Don't know	7.8

Republican Secretary on New Slovene Currency

AU3105200290 Ljubljana NEODVISNI DNEVNIK in Slovene 26 May 90 p 24

[Unattributed report: "Lipa Is Not Money"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 26 May—Lipa bills and coins, which some people have thought of as the new Slovene currency, have been on sale in some places in Ljubljana recently. In this connection, Republican Finance Secretary Marko Kranjec warns that lipa is not an official means of payment, that the Republic of Slovenia has no connection with this money, and that therefore it accepts no liabilities in this connection. This has been announced by the Republican Committee for Information.

Slovene Democratic Alliance Seeks Talks

LD2805163590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1027 GMT 28 May 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 28 May (TANJUG)—Talks between the political leaderships of the Yugoslav republics about Yugoslavia's future should be started immediately, in the context of which the full sovereignty of Slovenia as the state of the Slovene nation should be ensured—something that only a confederation can provide within the Yugoslav framework. This is the stand the Slovene Democratic Alliance [Slovenski Demokratski Savez—SDS] has just presented to the public.

The stands, adopted by the council of this political party, state that the Slovene Democratic Alliance has recently established links with the Croatian Democratic Community [Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica—HDZ] and initiated a dialogue about these issues. This dialogue is now being continued by the Demos coalition as a whole.

This party regards economic conditions in Slovenia as highly critical. Hence, it demands that the new Slovene government immediately undertake everything so as to really establish Slovenia's economic sovereignty and thus enable itself to resolve the crisis of the Slovene economy in a true, independent way. Above all, one should immediately stop any unjustified transfer of income from Slovenia to other parts of Yugoslavia, it is said in the SDS stances.

Slovenia's Jansa Views Military Defense

AU3005183090 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 30 May 90 p 2

[Interview with Slovene Defense Minister Janez Jansa by Bertram-Karl Steiner; place and date not given: "No Military Chance for Serbia"]

[Text] [Steiner] Your nomination was not made without an intention. What signal does Slovenia intend to send?

[Jansa] The reason Demos suggested me for this office is the change that we plan to carry out. My nomination is in line with the style of this change.

[Steiner] What authority do you have in Slovenia, and to what extent is the Army assigned to you?

[Jansa] The situation in Slovenia and generally in Yugoslavia differs from that in normal democracies. We have many more bodies dealing with defense matters. Our ministry administers some of the military tasks. Even though we cannot essentially influence the command, we fulfill the tasks without which the Armed Forces could not exist.

[Steiner] How about the demand for a Slovene officers' corps and Slovene as command language?

[Jansa] That has already been implemented in some sections of Territorial Defense, namely, the reserve troops who are drafted for regular military exercises. Serbo-Croatian is still the command language in the standing Army, and most officers are Serbs. We will change this in the framework of reform.

[Steiner] The Yugoslav Army command gave orders repeatedly to collect the arms of the Territorial Defense forces. What can the Slovene government do to counter such actions?

[Jansa] Such orders cannot be given without the approval of the Presidium of the republic. However, it was a secret order. When the Presidium learned about it, it prohibited carrying out the orders.

[Steiner] Does the Army have to return the arms that it has already collected to the Slovene Territorial Defense forces?

[Jansa] Yes.

[Steiner] If Belgrade under Barisav Jovic were to adopt a tough stance, would Slovenia be able to defend its sovereignty militarily, if necessary?

[Jansa] It is able to defend itself militarily. However, from the time when changes were initiated in Croatia, Serbia's opportunities to intervene have been reduced to zero. There is no known case in history where the less-developed part of a state would have commanded the more-developed part.

[Steiner] What are your personal relations with the officers' corps?

[Jansa] I respect every expert in this job; however, I have serious objections to officers who interfere in politics.

Slovene Official To Ban 'Political Police'

LD3105131590 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1149 GMT 31 May 90

[Text] Ljubljana, May 31 (TANJUG)—Igor Bacvar (35), the new interior minister of Yugoslavia's Republic of Slovenia, has announced, in his first interview to Ljubljana paper DNEVNIK, the banning of the political police and the reorganization of this ministry.

This does not mean the abolishing of the counter-intelligence and anti-terrorist service, in charge of national security as in other modern states, he said.

Bacvar, a minor police official during a period of less than one year 16 years ago, is one of the leaders of Slovenia's Human Rights Board.

Bacvar was appointed to his current post by the republic's new government of the Democratic United Opposition of Slovenia (DEMOS), a moderate right-wing coalition of six parties which took over from the Communists-reformists after the multiparty elections held in late March.

Slovenia needs a modern European police, rather than the ideologically colored existing one, Bacvar said. The cadre and organization changes are aimed at separating the police from the state.

Bacvar said that the service should have less power and be subject to supervision by parliament. He denied claims of mass lay offs, saying that some of the 40 officials of Slovenia's Secretariat for Internal Affairs will have to be let go, but they will be offered new jobs or retirement.

Slovenia To Halt Underdeveloped Fund Payments

LD3105154290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1352 GMT 31 May 90

[Text] Ljubljana, May 31 (TANJUG)—Slovenia cannot pay its share to the federal fund for underdeveloped republics and provinces for 1989 and 1990 due to the extremely difficult situation in the republic's economy, the Slovenian Government said here today [31 May].

Pointing out that the time had come when one's own interests should be considered first, the Slovenian Government said it was temporarily stop [as received] payment to the fund for the underdeveloped and that this problem should be linked with Slovenia's concept of a confederative status of Yugoslavia.

The Slovenian Government negativelly assessed the draft law on a special federal sales tax on goods and services, which is to be used for the financing of the Yugoslav People's Army this year.

Democratic Forum Protests Army Presence on Panel

LD0106182290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1122 GMT 1 Jun 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 1 Jun (TANJUG)—The Democratic Forum, acting within the Slovene League of Communists-Party of Democratic Reform, on 1 June made public its protest at the presence of JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] representatives in the Committee for the Preparation of the Congress of the LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia] Democratic and Program Renewal. The illusion that it is possible to revive something that yesterday had no future is for us of secondary importance. However, we are indignant indeed that two representatives of the LCY organization in the JNA are taking part in the committee's work. This political gesture is indicative of the arrogance with which military authorities treat the demand that the LCY organization in the JNA be disbanded.

We ask Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic and the minister in charge, Veljko Kadijevic, how long they will keep their eyes shut to the marked processes of further JNA politicization, young Slovene reformists ask.

Poll Tracks Political Atmosphere in Bosnia

AU0406161490

[Editorial Report] Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian on 22 May on pages 24-26 and on 29 May on pages 24 and 25 carries in two installments an approximately 5,000-word report by Dejan Jovic on the results of a public opinion poll carried out by a DANAS research team in Bosnia-Hercegovina, entitled "Fear of One's Own Nations" and "Stability Called Ante" respectively.

"The results of the poll are based on the responses of 1039 people polled. The poll was conducted in Sarajevo, Mostar, and Banja Luka between 9 and 11 May and was a postal poll containing the questions of the closed type." According to DANAS, these towns were deliberately selected because of their "different nationality composition and regional positions," and because they are five of the largest towns in Bosnia-Hercegovina in terms of population: Sarajevo is the largest, Banja Luka is the second largest, and Mostar is the fifth largest town.

"The Sarajevo sample is composed of 403 respondents. About 39 percent of them are Muslims (they make up 42 percent of Sarajevo's population), 27 percent are Serbs (they make up 30 percent of the population), 18 percent are Yugoslavs (they make up 16 percent of the population), and 8 percent are Croats (which is how many Croats live in Sarajevo). The bulk of the respondents (67 percent) are between 26 and 50 years of age and have average education. The number of men and women is about the same." The report also states that the sample includes, proportionately, the same number of workers, students, pensioners, and unemployed.

"The Banja Luka sample is composed of 297 respondents of which 47 percent are Serbs (they make up 51 percent of the total population), 23 percent are Yugoslavs (they make up about 17 percent of the population), 14 percent Croats (they make up 16 percent of the population), and 11 percent Muslims (they make up about 12 percent of the population). The majority (69 percent) of the respondents are middle age and have an average education. There are slightly fewer women than men." Again, the sample consists of workers, students, unemployed, pensioners, and farmers.

"The Mostar sample is composed of 339 respondents of which 31 percent are Croats (they make up 33 percent of the population), 25 percent are Muslims (they make up 31 percent of the population), 20 percent are Yugoslavs (they make up 15 percent of the population) and 18 percent of Serbs (which is how many Serbs there are in Mostar)." The sample is also a mixture of workers, students, farmers, pensioners, and unemployed.

The following are the results of the poll published in the 22 May issue of DANAS:

Table 1. "Which political phenomenon is most dangerous for the stability of Bosnia-Hercegovina?" (table heading) (a bar chart with rounded off figures in percentages)

All types of nationalism:	
Sarajevo:	33
Banja Luka:	35
Mostar:	17
Economic Crisis:	
Sarajevo:	24
Banja Luka:	16
Mostar:	33
Founding Single Nationality Parties:	
Sarajevo:	31
Banja Luka:	37
Mostar:	39
Multiparty System:	
Sarajevo:	4
Banja Luka:	5
Mostar:	4
Croatian Nationalism:	
Sarajevo:	4
Banja Luka:	4
Mostar:	1
Serbian Nationalism:	
Sarajevo:	3
Banja Luka:	1
Mostar:	3
Muslim Nationalism:	
Sarajevo:	1
Banja Luka:	1
Mostar:	1

Table 2. "Is the decision on the ban of single nationality political parties in Bosnia-Hercegovina correct?" (table heading) (a bar chart with rounded off figures in percentages)

Yes, single nationality parties should not be allowed:	
Mostar:	66
Sarajevo:	72
Banja Luka:	81
No, all parties should be allowed:	
Mostar:	33
Sarajevo:	27
Banja Luka:	18

Table 3. "How do you see the future of Bosnia-Hercegovina?" (table heading) (figures expressed in percentages)

In the Yugoslav federation:	
Banja Luka:	91
Sarajevo:	86
Mostar:	83
In the Yugoslav confederation:	
Banja Luka:	7
Sarajevo:	11
Mostar:	14
Divided between Serbia and Croatia:	
Banja Luka:	0
Sarajevo:	0
Mostar:	1
In Bosnia-Hercegovina stepping out of Yugoslavia:	
Banja Luka:	2
Sarajevo:	2
Mostar:	1

The following are the results of the poll published in 29 May issue of DANAS:

Table 1. "Who is a guarantee of Yugoslavia's stability?" (table heading) (a bar chart with rounded off figures in percentages)

Banja Luka:	
Federal Executive Council	50
Yugoslav People's Army	34
Do not see any guarantees	10
SFRY Presidency	2
League of Communists of Yugoslavia	2
Sarajevo:	
Federal Executive Council	53
Yugoslav People's Army	25
Do not see any guarantees	16
SFRY Presidency	3
League of Communists of Yugoslavia	2

Mostar:	
Federal Executive Council	58
Yugoslav People's Army	24
Do not see any guarantees	13
SFRY Presidency	3
League of Communists of Yugoslavia	1

Table 2. "What is Yugoslavia's future?" (table heading) (a bar chart with rounded off figures in percentages)

Crisis surmounted, national clashes calmed down:	
Banja Luka:	36
Sarajevo:	33
Mostar:	36
A new agreement on the joint state:	
Banja Luka:	30
Sarajevo:	32
Mostar:	29
Successful reform is accompanied by pronounced national clashes:	
Banja Luka:	26
Sarajevo:	26
Mostar:	28
Yugoslavia will be disbanded peacefully:	
Banja Luka:	3
Sarajevo:	4
Mostar:	5
There is a possibility of a civil war:	
Banja Luka:	6
Sarajevo:	3
Mostar:	2

Table 3. "Which leadership is the closest to your political stands?" (table heading) (a bar chart with rounded off figures in percentages)

SFRY Leadership:	
Banja Luka:	45
Sarajevo:	29
Mostar:	26
None of the leaderships:	
Banja Luka:	29
Sarajevo:	38
Mostar:	33
Leadership of Bosnia-Hercegovina:	
Banja Luka:	15
Sarajevo:	23
Mostar:	21
Leadership of Slovenia:	
Banja Luka:	2
Sarajevo:	4
Mostar:	11
Leadership of Croatia:	
Banja Luka:	1
Sarajevo:	1
Mostar:	5
Leadership of Montenegro:	
Banja Luka:	1
Sarajevo:	0
Mostar:	1
Leadership of Serbia:	
Banja Luka:	6
Sarajevo:	3
Mostar:	2

Bosnia Democratic Alliance Denounces Chairman

LD0406212290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1534 GMT 4 Jun 90

[Text] Sarajevo, 4 Jun (TANJUG)—Radim Kadic, Socialist Youth Federation-Bosnia-Hercegovina Democratic Alliance [SSO—Demokratski Savez Bosne I Hercegovine] Initiating Committee chairman attended the founding assembly of the Democratic Action Party [Stranka Demokratske Akcije] at his own initiative and without prior consultations with the SSO Initiating Committee about the possible negative effects of his decision to attend the assembly as a guest.

This is stressed in a statement from today's emergency session of the SSO-Bosnia-hercegovina Democratic Alliance Initiating Committee in response to controversial comments provoked by Kadic's attendance at the Democratic Action Party (an alliance of citizens belonging to the Muslim cultural and historic circle) founding assembly in Sarajevo on 26 May. The statement further says that the SSO Initiating Committee considers that by his [word indistinct] and rash action Kadic has politically damaged this organization at the time of its reconstruction. The Initiating Committee has decided to distance itself from the conduct of its chairman.

Croat 'People's Peasant Party' Founded

LD2705205490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1732 GMT 27 May 90

[Text] Zagreb, 27 May (TANJUG)—The Croat People's Peasant Party [Hrvatska Pucka Seljacka Stranka—HPSS] was formed on 27 May at a founding assembly in the Internacional Hotel in Zagreb. A press statement stresses the party's emergence on the political scene is designed "to provide an authentic platform for the teachings of brothers Radic in the spirit of current and future imperatives of time by using the methods of struggle appropriate to parliamentary democracy."

Jure Sonje was elected party chairman and Ivan Bernardic was named the party's lifelong honorary president.

This is the third political party set up in Croatia that invokes political traditions of Radic's party. There is the

Croat Peasant Party [Hrvatska Seljacka Stranka—HSS] with Ivan Zvonimir Cicak at its head. This party has joined the so-called Croatian bloc with the Croat Democratic Community [Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica—HDZ]. The Croat Republican Peasant Party [Hrvatska Republikanska Seljacka Stranka] is based in Vinkovci and has Dragutin Zanic as its chairman. The HPSS has taken on the original name of the party founded by brothers Radic.

SKH-SDP's Racan Discusses Future Plans

LD2905230190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1602 GMT 29 May 90

[Text] Zagreb, 29 May (TANJUG)—The Central Committee [CC] of the Croat League of Communists-Party of Democratic Change [SKH-SDP] formed a committee to prepare for the congress, which should be held at end of July or beginning of August. The congress' objective will be to complete the process of transformation of this party into a modern, democratic party on the European left. The SKH-SDP CC will discuss a proposed program-political platform for the congress at a plenary session to be held on 9 June in Rijeka.

Ivica Racan said this at a 29 May news conference, at which the results and conclusions of the SKH-SDP CC session, held on 28 May, were announced. The SKH-SDP CC considered results that this party achieved at the recent elections in Croatia and endorsed decisions concerning the 30 May constitutive session of the multiparty Croat Assembly.

On 28 May, after delivering a report about the election results and presenting a proposed program of immediate tasks of the SKH-SDP CC, Racan put his mandate to a vote of confidence, which the CC, after a discussion, confirmed unanimously. Racan said that this is customary in the multiparty system and a prerequisite for implementing a series of moves aimed at equipping the party to act as the main opposition under changed historical conditions.

Among other things, Racan announced a forthcoming reconstruction of the Presidium and CC, and a series of decisions regarding the activity of SKH-SDP deputies in the Assembly, the formation of a shadow government, the organizational cleanup of the SKH-SDP, and the resolution of open problems of financing the party under new conditions.

'Socialist Party of Croatia' Founded

LD0206173790 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1545 GMT 2 Jun 90

[Text] Zagreb, 2 Jun (TANJUG)—The Croatian people clearly rejected state socialism in the recent multi-party elections in Croatia, Zeljko Mazar said in the opening address at the founding congress of the Socialist Party of the northwestern Yugoslav republic.

According to Mazar, hitherto president of the Socialist Alliance—League of Socialists of Croatia, the Socialist Party will not renounce all the values of the anti-fascist movement and socialist tradition in Croatia.

The party's program will include the most valuable elements of socialist and social democratic theory and practice in Europe and in Yugoslavia, he added.

Mazar recognized one victory of the Croatian Democratic Union in the recent elections but denied the party the right to interpret the interests of the Croatian people alone and arbitrarily. He emphasized that the union, despite its majority, nevertheless only got less then half the votes in the elections.

The Croatian Democratic Union won slightly over 40 percent of the votes. However, due to the complex election system, the party has more than 60 percent of the seats in the republican parliament.

The socialists won around five percent of the votes.

The founding congress of the Socialist Party of Croatia [Socijalisticka Stranka Hryatske, SSH] marks the end of the transformation of the former Socialist Alliance of Croatia, the biggest socio-political organization which existed within the earlier single-party system in the republic.

Besides Slovenia, Croatia is the only Yugoslav republic which has had multi-party elections so far.

Croatian socialists will advocate the regulating of relations in Yugoslavia according to European criteria, which within the Yugoslav community means agreement among the sovereign nations and states with the right to self-determination, including secession.

A united Europe is part of the Socialist Party's program. For Croatian socialists, this implies the creation of a single market and the acceptance of the European currency. "If we change the dinar, we will change it for the ECU [European Currency Unit], Mazar said, criticizing the national narrow-mindedness of ideas on introducing separate national currencies on the Republics of Slovenia and Croatia.

Croatian socialists will fight for a peaceful, free, pluralist and ecologically responsible society and a society of social justice and national equality, speakers at the founding congress said.

Elects Mazar Chairman

LD0206213690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1159 GMT 2 Jun 90

[Summary] Zagreb, 2 Jun (TANJUG)—The founding congress of the Socialist Party of Croatia [SSH] was held today in Zagreb. Taking part in the congress of the new party [developed from the Croatian Socialist Alliance of Working People] are 205 delegates. Delegates approved the program's documents and statute of the new party.

which, as of today is called the SSH. In a secret ballot members of the party's Assembly elected Zeljko Mazar as its chairman.

Police Offensive Expected Against Serbian Demos

AU3105140690 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28 May 90 p 8

[Report by M. Urosevic, I. Radovanovic, D. Grujic: "The Opposition Is To Take to the Streets"]

[Excerpts] Belgrade—The election storms that Serbian opposition parties (Democratic, People's Radical, Liberal, Democratic-Ecological-Farmers, and the Serbian Renewal Movement) have announced will probably take place in the republic soon, although nobody can say for sure when. According to some interpretations (by the leaders of various parties), the term by which time the Assembly and Presidency were obliged to answer the opposition's demands (setting a date for free elections and for the beginning of the election campaign and adopting the most important electoral laws) expired on 25 May. According to others, the term was 26 May, and according to a third variant, the opposition does not expect any reply until the beginning of June.

It is therefore unclear when the announced demonstrations that are intended to be the opposition's reply to the "silence" of the authorities will be held. Milenko Radic, People's Radical Party secretary general, announced them for yesterday; Serbian Renewal Movement leader Vuk Draskovic announced them for 3 June (anniversary of the 1968 student unrest); and two days ago, at the presentation of the People's Radical Party in Zajecar, Veljko Guberina gave 13 June as the date of the demonstrations.

According to this "screenplay" of Guberina's, this whole "business" between the opposition and the authorities should run as follows:

Today (26 May), the Presidency and the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Serbia will either give its reply to the opposition or it will not. On 11 June, the opposition will announce what the authorities have done. Two days later (if it turns out that the authorities have not replied), several hundred thousand people will walk to the Assembly and submit one more ultimatum. Finally, if the authorities fail to reply to the Serbian parties' demand again, unrest will begin and in all towns in Serbia, too. [passage omitted]

"I think that the Serbian Presidency will ignore our demand. We have gotten used to such behavior. The Democratic-Ecological-Farmers Party is of the opinion that, in that case, one should take to the street and demonstrate, and if the police attacks the demonstrators, they should not withdraw but continue to demonstrate. I am not saying this just like that, but because I have learned that the authorities recently armed their special units even better. I possess some unconfirmed information that groups of agents provocateurs will infiltrate our ranks with a view to causing unrest and thereby discrediting us," Velimir Cvetic, Executive Committee president of the Democratic-Ecological-Farmers Party, said.

In any case, the deadline given to the authorities expires at the beginning of June and the only thing known now almost for certain is that the authorities will not give their reply to the opposition within any of the deadlines given (something that the opposition expected, anyway). According to well-informed sources, the opposition's demand has finally reached the desks of some members of the Serbian Presidency, but, as the same sources claim, not a single one of the recipients of the "letter" will reply to it.

As we have learned, the Presidency's stand is that the whole thing should be responded to "in a political manner." In other words, the demand will most probably be discussed at one of the coming Presidency sessions, the Assembly delegates will be informed about the Presidency's stand, and only then will they reply to the opposition, although nobody knows exactly when.

What the reply will be like can be assumed from the frequently reiterated official stand that there will be no elections until the constitutions (both federal and republican) and then the constitutional laws (federal and republican again) are changed.

As we have learned, again from reliable sources, this job should be concluded in Serbia by November (the Constitution and the constitutional laws will be changed in parallel procedures).

The only problem may lie in Article 47 of the present Constitution, according to which, at the final stage of adopting a new constitution, the provinces have the right to demand that its adoption be postponed for up to six months. Although it seems to be aware that the opposition may interpret this as a deliberate postponement of the elections, the Presidency has obviously adopted the stand that there will be no other way. [passage omitted]

'Democratic Party' Registered in Tuzla

LD0206150190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1038 GMT 2 Jun 90

[Text] Tuzla, 2 Jun (TANJUG)—The Democratic Party of Yugoslavia [Demokratska Stranka Jugoslavije] has been registered with the High Court in Tuzla with Dr. Dragoljub Micunovic at its head and Dr. Kosta Cavoski as chairman of the Executive Committee.

The Democratic Party of Yugoslavia is the first party to be registered in Tuzla. And assembly of the Democratic Party branch in Tuzla has been convened for tomorrow, at which its organs will be elected. The Democratic Party of Yugoslavia is registered in Tuzla although its real seat is in Belgrade, since multiparty democracy, they say, is still not legalized in Serbia.

Serbian Police Units To Stay in Kosovo

LD0206162590 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1523 GMT 2 Jun 90

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Jun (TANJUG)—Special police units of the Republic of Serbia will carry on with the duties of maintaining peace and order taken over from the Kosovo provincial police because security reasons in the province still require it, the Serbian secretary for internal affairs said in a statement published on Saturday [2 June].

The statement does not explain what the security reasons are but emphasizes that the Serbian police will carry out their duties in Kosovo as long as the decision of the republican State Presidency is in force.

The statement also outlines the duties of the provincial police.

Following the lifting of the emergency measures introduced by the State Presidency in the restless Yugoslav province in April, the State Presidency of Serbia, of which Kosovo is a part, decided that the bulk of the duties of maintaining peace and order should be taken over by the republican police.

During the demonstrations by Albanian separatists in January and February, in which 28 people were killed, the provincial police was accused of inefficiency and there were even cases when individual ethnic Albanian policemen sided with the demonstrators.

However, the provincial secretariat for internal affairs yesterday set up alternative police stations in the Kosovo towns of Pec and Decani. Their staffs are made up only of ethnic Albanians who have so far been punished by disciplinary measures many times.

The commander of the Pec station had earlier been replaced from the post.

The forming of the single-nationality police stations has provoked great dissatisfaction among Kosovo Serbs.

Opposition Leaders Remark on Serbian Elections

LD0406124790 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1104 GMT 4 Jun 90

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Jun (TANJUG)—Leader of the Serbian Social-Democratic Party Milan Nikolic believes that the Communists will lose the upcoming multi-party elections in the Republic of Serbia but that the former Communist leader and current presidency of Serbia President Slobodan Milosevic will win.

In a poll conducted by the Belgrade weekly NEZAVISNE, the leaders of the old radical and the Serbian Renanscence movement, each, said his party would turn out the winner. The date of the multi-party elections in Serbia has not been set yet, but the elections could be held before the end of the year.

Five opposition parties in Serbia have scheduled a protest rally for June 13, at which they mean to demand of the ruling Communists to call multi-party elections by the end of the year and to pass an electoral law, a law on political parties and a law on mass media.

Serbian Democratic Party leader Slobodan Inic did not venture to predict the outcome of the multi-party elections in Serbia, but did set out that pluralism was being introduced in Yugoslavia through strictly national solutions, which he said was not good for democracy in the country.

Leader of the distinctly nationalist party the Serbian Renascence Movement Vuk Draskovic expressed the opinion that the Yugoslav-oriented parties should not run in the upcoming elections because they were "outside the time and space" and were something of a "political l'art pour l'art."

Draskovic forecasted that his party would win 60 percent of parliamentary seats and said that his government would not be open only to the Communists.

Leader of the old radical party Slobodan Turlakov said his party would win the elections because it offered an optimal programme, based on the traditional values of the Serbian people.

The opposition party leaders agree on one point—that the elections for the Constituent Assembly should be held first and a new constitution of Serbia adopted only afterwards.

Kosovo Assembly Annuls Serbia's Integration

AU2805183690 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1700 GMT 28 May 90

[Text] [Announcer] Our reporter Idriz Alaj, who has been following the proceedings of the Kosovo Assembly Chamber of Associated Labor, has just reached our studio.

[Alaj] The meeting of the Kosovo Assembly Chamber of Associated Labor ended 10 minutes ago, and its epilogue can be summed up in a sentence: Justice (?triumphed). Applying constitutionality and legality, the delegates annulled all the decisions taken on 27 December last year concerning the integration of the Kosovo electrical industry, [word indistinct], and the railroads, into Serbia.

Kosovo Officials Warn of 'Dual Administrations'

LD0106160690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2010 GMT 31 Jun 90

[Text] Pristina, 31 May (TANJUG)—The Presidency of the Yugoslav Province of Kosovo (?today warned) about the increasingly complex problems in internationality relations and "occurrences and tendencies which (?thwart normal) work and decision-making".

News is arriving from Kosovo that separation of institutions and firms into two "national parts" is occurring more frequently and also that dual administrations and organs have started to form.

Two different decisions were taken on the same issue in the two chambers at a Pristina parliamentary meeting. The physical separation of schools and hospitals on a national basis has also been announced.

Ethnic Albanians are increasingly trying to "take over" power in their working and living environemnts while the principle of outvoting, implemented at meetings of the Kosovo parliament, is being carried down more frequently to "lower levels."

Many Kosovo firms and institutions, by the method of outvoting, are ruling out many earlier decisions of administrative organs, changing up until recently Serbian leaders and replacing them with Albanian ones, bringing back layed-off Albanian political strikers with the concession of the courts of associated labour and other state organs where decisions are also taken by the method of outvoting.

As of three months ago, the Kosovo parliament has become a laboratory for the expression of "counter" statements to everything which had been passed by the parliament previously. At a recent Kosovo parliamentary meeting, Albanian delegates demanded the resignations and removal from duty of the entire government, and immediately afterwards—when the demand was met—they changed the decision and voted against the resignations.

The demands of the leaders of the Albanian alternative have entered the parliamentary building, are being placed on the agenda and under the principle of outvoting, are being passed.

Visit by U.S. Lobbyist, Congressmen Analyzed

AU0406175890 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 31 May 90 p 8

[Bogdan Decermic commentary: "The Lobbyist and His Companion"]

[Text] The one-day visit to Pristina by the primary spokesperson for the Albanian lobby in the United States, Joe DioGuardi, and his companion on this Balkan tour, a Californian congressman, Tom Lantos, is a special kind of scandal. Yes, whether you like it or not, Yugoslavia was treated, and the words are not too strong, like a banana republic where one may attack anybody without any consideration or respect for any convention.

Let us first of all deal with the main protagonists. Joe DioGuardi from White Plains is a former congressman for Westchester District, New York State. In the last elections he lost his seat in Congress in a murky affair involving corruption in the collection of funds for his election. At present, DioGuardi is formally in the lap of the Albanian emigre lobby and the official, registered and paid lobbyist for the Washington-based group. This is his main occupation and his livelihood. The address of his lobby office in Washington is the address of the group which calls itself "The League for the Human Rights of Albanians." He is one of its main founders. While he was still a congressman, the main source his preelection campaign funds were provided by extremist Albanian emigres in the United States. Representing them in the Congress was one of DioGuardi's primary tasks. At present he is formally working on this task, though, true, only from outside the chambers of Congress.

The Role of the Lobby

This is an appropriate place for few words about the institution of the lobby in Washington. A lobby and lobbyists, or pressure groups, which exert pressure on the Congress or the public, play an important legal role in contemporary U.S. legislation procedures. Ideally, the task of a lobby is to "help" inform the Congress and the public of certain problems, to induce public debates by providing technical and other information concerning the problem for which the group financing the lobby is interested in, or, if this is not in the interest of the group, to prevent such debates, and disinterest the public and Congress. A lobby usually exerts pressure on the Congress and the public for personal reasons, to attain some rights, financial or other benefits for its group at the expense of other sections of society. The power of pressure groups and their lobbies on the lawmakers is often based less on arguments and facts than the size of the pressure group, on the group's size in terms of people and money.

At first glance one could therefore say that DioGuardi is doing something he is paid for. However, his activities in Kosovo go far beyond the collection of facts, "on the spot" information, but, rather, represent plain and brutal interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state, direct incitement of separatism and the breaking up of a European country, a member of the United Nations. He put the final touch to it by shouting "Kosovo—Republic" at the rally in front of a Pristina hotel. It is almost beyond comprehension that what he advocated and said during a number of activities and meetings of the Albanian emigres in the United States he, although still only a lobbyist, but now in the role of a political tribune, is saying in Kosovo, Serbia, and Yugoslavia. "If somebody had told me that I would visit Pristina three times in only six-months time, I would not have believed him," DioGuardi said according to a newspaper report. We cannot but share DioGuardi's view. Indeed, how is this possible?

It is very strange, if this is true, that DioGuardi, who is, let us repeat, only a lobbyist, commands such powers and that he can invite on behalf of the Congress two Albanian separatists from Pristina to Capitol Hill. This questions should, however, be answered by official Washington.

DioGuardi was accompanied by Tom Lantos, an active congressman from California who heads an unofficial but influential caucus for human rights consisting of 150 members of the U.S. Congress. This is Lantos' second visit to Kosovo. He was officially invited by the Yugoslav Government to visit Yugoslavia and Kosovo last April and was supposed to arrive in Belgrade from Budapest—Lantos is of Hungarian descent—but fell ill in Hungary and was urgently taken back to the United States, therefore not visiting Yugoslavia.

Meanwhile, last spring and summer, the congressman from California showed his "real soul" when he publicly demonstrated that he does not care equally for the human rights of all people living in Kosovo, of Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, and other ethnic minorities, but that he is objectively and subjectively zealously working for the Albanian separatist cause. He made several public speeches. On one particular occasion, when he spoke from the steps of the Congress addressing a group of Albanian separatists holding an anti-Yugoslav rally, he made a series of crude remarks and threats against the Yugoslav government and its policies.

With What Kind of Authority?

Finally, Lantos was the main sponsor of an anti-Yugoslav resolution in Congress, a resolution that was subsequently rejected. He was doing this, one could say, "blind," before visiting Yugoslavia and before forming his own view. Of course, following such anti-Yugoslav activities, the previously-made official invitation by our government for Lantos to visit our country and hold talks with official and unofficial Yugoslav personalities at all levels, was withdrawn. However, last August Lantos did visit Pristina, although he had not been officially invited.

The question that needs to be answered is in what capacity did Lantos accompany DioGuardi several days ago, or should it be the other way round. Did the U.S. Congress need to sent a delegate less than a month after an official visit by a Capitol Hill delegation to Yugoslavia, Serbia, and Kosovo, a four-member delegation of the U.S. Congress at the CSCE, who held extensive talks with all Yugoslav official and unofficial personalities.

Or, was Lantos in the direct service of the great Albanian lobby in the United States, something that is incompatible with relations that exist between lobbies and members of the U.S. Congress, as well as illegal. Who needed whom, and who served whom is the matter for the Congressional Ethics Committee to decide, as is the matter of who paid the traveling expenses. If Congressman Lantos did not pay these expenses from his own pocket, then they must have been paid either by the lobby, or by a group of members of alternative movements from Pristina, or their leaders themselves, as reporters from this visit claim. Either case is a question of congressional ethics.

The officials in the United States are left to answer whether Congressman Lantos had the authority to announce, on behalf of the United States, U.S. aid consisting, inter alia, of "building schools, health institutions (various clinics), sending medicines, and so forth, and say that this is being done with the aim of helping Albanians enjoy all the benefits enjoyed by citizens of other developed countries in Europe" (according to a report by our correspondent from Pristina). What about Serbs, Montenegrins, and other ethnic groups in Kosovo, do they not need medical care too? Lantos did not mention this and did not talk about other human rights in Pristina.

Finally, Lantos said: "You have the support of the U.S. Congress." Who does this support refer to, and by what authority was it offered?

However, the visit by the two Americans to Pristina must be viewed in a wider context. And this is briefly why: We ourselves are to blame for people entering and roaming through our country without any difficulties—a similar or the same thing happened with the arrival of some Ustasha or pro-Ustasha emigres without visas to attend the congress of the Croatian Democratic Community in Zagreb, with the financing of extreme nationalists, pro-Ustasha, pro-Chetnik, pro-Ballist, pro-White Guard, and other hostile groups and groupings. Most of all, we ourselves are to blame for being treated like a banana republic.

Kosovo LC on Party Orientation, Visits

LD0206162290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1256 GMT 2 Jun 90

[Excerpts] Pristina, 2 Jun (TANJUG)—The membership of the Kosovo LC [League of Communists] has declared itself in favor of a modern democratic party and in favor of the development of democratic socialism, which will lead to progress, greater work, creativity, and unity. This was said at today's session of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, which summed up the debate in the Kosovo LC on the reform document of the Kosovo LC.

At an expanded session, presided over by Rahman Morina, it was stressed that the debate, with the basic orientations of the Kosovo LC as a party for democratic socialism, has aroused great interest among the membership of the LC, as well as among individuals who are not LC members but who have actively involved themselves in the debate. The draft document was supported in a democratic discussion, though there were specific observations, proposals, and suggestions, which will be incorporated into the final text. [passage omitted saying the document is a good basis for the transformation of the LC. Many LC organizations in Kosovo have been discussing the historical personalities of the past, and their roles.]

At today's session there was also discussion of some current questions of the political situation in Kosovo. Note was made of the extremely harmful consequences of national homogenization on a negative basis and of all forms of obstruction and majority decision-making.

It was also stressed, among other things, that the frequent and provocative moves by the Kosovo so-called alternative opposition with the aim of internationalizing the Kosovo problem, are leading to extreme tension between the nations and nationalities in Kosovo.

The Presidium assessed the provocative and arrogant behavior of the U.S. Congressmen in Pristina as direct interference in the internal affairs of our country, and this was condemned at the Presidium's session.

The Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium decided at today's session to propose to the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee the adoption of a decision to suspend the work of and abolish the Edvard Kardelj Marxist Center of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee in Pristina.

MAAK Objects to Country's Foreign Policy

*AU3105164890 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
30 May 90 p 4*

[Unattributed report: "Victims of Foreign Policy]

[Text] Skopje—If Federal Foreign Affairs Secretary Budimir Loncar does not protect Macedonian national interests, which are also Yugoslav interests, at the forthcoming ministerial level talks in Athens, and does not assume a categorical stand with regard to a definitive solution to the acute issues concerning the Greek authority's attitude toward the Macedonian minority in Greece, the Movement for All-Macedonian Action, MAAK, will demand his resignation and ask the Macedonian people to demand an urgent and thorough discussion in the SFRY Assembly on the government's policy toward relations with our neighbors, and demand a vote of confidence.

The government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria applied draconian measures and banned the democratic united Macedonian organization Ilinden, which is fighting with legal means for the return of the national and basic human rights of the Macedonians living in the Pirin part of Macedonia and throughout Bulgaria. The Greek government, as have all previous Greek governments, is carrying out a systematic denationalization and assimilation of Macedonians in the Aegean part of Macedonia through state terrorism. This was stated in a communique issued by the MAAK, which also warns that "a new colonization is under way, that Greeks from the USSR are being resettled on the territory of Macedonia with the purpose of altering the demographic structure."

Mentioning the ways in which the Republic of Greece is "not observing the constitutional system of the SFRY as a sovereign state of the equal Yugoslav peoples, crudely violating bilateral and international conventions, discriminating against the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, not recognizing Macedonian language and diplomas issued by Macedonian universities, continuing with a special system of issuing visas..." the MAAK, addressing the Yugoslav government, states that our foreign policy at the federal level "is turning a deaf ear to all appeals and demands, and continues, as it has been doing for decades past, to sacrifice the Macedonian national interests for the sake of good-neighborly relations."

Gosev: Greece, Bulgaria Denying Minority Rights

*LD0206162490 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1531 GMT 2 Jun 90*

[Text] Delcevo, 2 Jun (TANJUG)—Petar Gosev, president of the reformed League of Communists of Macedonia—The Party of Democratic Renewal, today accused Greece and Bulgaria of failing to recognize the basic rights of ethnic Macedonians and of negating the existence of the Macedonia nation.

Speaking in the small Macedonian town of Delcevo at a memorial to Goce Delcev, an outstanding fighter for the rights of the Macedonian people from the late 19th century, Gosev said tendencies of the assimilation of ethnic Macedonians still existed in Greece and Bulgaria and the two countries continued to have territorial claims to Macedonia. He, at the same time, criticized the mounting Serbian nationalism and expressed the opinion that Serbia, itself, had pretensions in relation to Macedonia.

The statehood and equality of Macedonia can be preserved within a stable and united Yugoslavia, Gosev set out. He criticized political shortsightedness in the Yugoslav republics which fan nationalism and do so, as he set out, in order to achieve their own political superiority in the crisis-ridden Yugoslav federation.

Macedonia Urges 'United' Foreign Policy

*LD0406223490 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2200 GMT 4 Jun 90*

[Text] Skopje, 4 Jun (TANJUG)—The commission on foreign policy questions and external relations of the Assembly of the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, as well as the other bodies and committees of the republican assembly, this evening urged the application of a united Yugoslav policy towards the neighbours, which is a matter of special interest to Macedonia.

Although the Yugoslav diplomacy has lately taken a positive step, the tolerant attitude in the Yugoslav policy to Bulgaria, Greece and Albania was criticized, particularly as concerning the escalation of greater Bulgarian nationalism and the banning of the organization Ilinden in Bulgaria, as well as the statement by Greek Prime Minister Mitsotakis denying the existence of the Macedonian national question and Macedonians in general.

Nobody can deny the Macedonians their right to spiritual unity. There are two Koreas, but also four parts of Macedonia, delegate Ljupco Slamonikov said and urged that the Yugoslav foreign policy unfold on the basis of full reciprocity in relations with the neighbours, which is in keeping with international law.